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APPOLLODORUS. The unknown real author of the 'Bibliothica', 'Library', provides in three books a useful summary of traditional Greek mythology and heroic legends, all as recorded in literature. He lived in the first century B.C. or later. Writing in simple and direct style, he follows Greek sources faithfully, without explanation or criticism, and is a most valuable source for Greek beliefs about the world through mythological ages to the beginning of real history. There is an element of folk-tale. In some ways the work resembles the book of Genesis in the Bible. It is attributed to Apollodorus of Athens who lived in the 2nd century B.C. and was a pupil of Aristarchus and of Panaetius, the Stoic.

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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES

II

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ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ

Γ

X. Ατλαντος δὲ καὶ τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ Πληιόνης ἐγένοντο θυγατέρες ἑπτὰ ἐν Κυλλήνῃ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας, αἱ Πληιάδες προσαγορευθεῖσαι, Ἀλκυόνη Μερόπη Κελαινὼ Ἠλέκτρα Στερόπη Ταϋγέτη

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[1] As to the Pleiades, see Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 254–268; Eratosthenes, *Catast.* 23; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiii. 551 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xviii. 486; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* ii. 10 (16); Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iii. 226; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 21; *id. Fab.* 192; Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 105, iv. 169–178; Servius on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 138, and on *Aen.* i. 744; *Scholia in Caesaris Germanici Aratea*, p. 397, ed. F. Eyssenhardt in his edition of Martianus Capella); *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 73 (First Vatican Mythographer, 234). There was a general agreement among the ancients as to the names of the seven Pleiades. Aratus, for example, gives the same names as Apollodorus and in the same order. However, with the exception of Maia, a different list of names is given by the Scholiast on Theocritus (xiii. 25), who tells us further, on the authority of Callimachus, that they were the daughters of the queen of the Amazons. As their father was commonly said to be Atlas, they were sometimes called Atlantides (Apollodorus, below; Diodorus Siculus, iii. 60. 4; compare Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 382). But there was much diversity of opinion as to the origin of the name Pleiades. Some derived it from the name of their mother

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BOOK III.—*continued*

X. Atlas and Pleione, daughter of Ocean, had seven daughters called the Pleiades, born to them at Cyllene in Arcadia, to wit: Alcyone, Merope, Celaeno, Electra, Sterope, Taygete, and Maia.[1] Of these,

Pleione; but the most probable view appears to be that the name comes from πλεῖν, "to sail," because in the Mediterranean area these stars were visible at night during the summer, from the middle of May till the beginning of November, which coincided with the sailing season in antiquity. This derivation of the name was recognized by some of the ancients (Servius on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 138). With regard to the number of the Pleiades, it was generally agreed that there were seven of them, but that one was invisible, or nearly so, to the human eye. Of this invisibility two explanations were given. Some thought that Electra, as the mother of Dardanus, was so grieved at the fall of Troy that she hid her face in her hands; the other was that Merope, who had married a mere man, Sisyphus, was so ashamed of her humble, though honest, lot by comparison with the guilty splendour of her sisters, who were all of them paramours of gods, that she dared not show herself. These alternative and equally probable theories are stated, for example, by Ovid and Hyginus. The cause of the promotion of the maidens to the sky is said to have been that for seven or even twelve years the hunter Orion pursued them with his unwelcome attentions, till Zeus in pity removed pursuer and pursued alike to heaven, there to shine as stars for ever and

Maîa. τούτων Στερόπην μὲν Οἰνόμαος ἔγημε, Σίσυφος <δὲ>[1] Μερόπην. δυσὶ δὲ ἐμίχθη Ποσειδῶν, πρώτῃ μὲν Κελαινοῖ, ἐξ ἧς Λύκος ἐγένετο, ὃν Ποσειδῶν ἐν μακάρων ὤκισε[2] νήσοις, δευτέρᾳ δὲ Ἀλκυόνῃ, ἣ θυγατέρα μὲν ἐτέκνωσεν Αἴθουσαν τὴν Ἀπόλλωνι Ἐλευθῆρα τεκοῦσαν,[3] υἱοὺς δὲ Τριέα καὶ Ὑπερήνορα. Τριέως μὲν οὖν καὶ Κλονίης νύμφης Νυκτεὺς καὶ Λύκος, Νυκτέως δὲ καὶ Πολυξοῦς Ἀντιόπη, Ἀντιόπης δὲ καὶ Διὸς Ζῆθος καὶ Ἀμφίων. ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς Ἀτλαντίσι Ζεὺς συνουσιάζει.

2 Maîa μὲν οὖν ἡ πρεσβυτάτη Διὶ συνελθοῦσα ἐν ἄντρῳ τῆς Κυλλήνης Ἑρμῆν τίκτει. οὗτος ἐν σπαργάνοις[4] ἐπὶ τοῦ λίκνου κείμενος, ἐκδὺς εἰς

[1] δὲ added by Bekker. [2] ὤκισε Faber : ὤκησε A.

[3] The MSS (A) add καλλίστην, which is retained by Westermann, Müller, and Bekker, but omitted by Hercher and Wagner and regarded as a marginal gloss by Heyne.

[4] σπαργάνοις Heyne (conjecture), Bekker, Hercher : πρώτοις A, Heyne (in text), Westermann : στρωτοῖς Valckenar, Müller : πρώτοις <σπαργάνοις> Wagner.

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to continue the endless pursuit. The bashful or mournful Pleiad, who hid her light, is identified by modern astronomers with Celaeno, a star of almost the seventh magnitude, which can be seen now, as in antiquity, in clear moonless nights by persons endowed with unusually keen sight. See A. von Humboldt, *Cosmos*, translated by E. Sabine, iii. 47 *sq.*

[1] Compare Pausanias, v. 10. 6. According to another account, Sterope or Asterope, as she is also called, was not the wife but the mother of Oenomaus by the god Ares. See Eratosthenes, *Catasterismi*. 23; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 21; *id. Fab.* 84 and 159; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 73 (First Vatican Mythographer, 234).

[2] See above, iii. 5. 5.

Sterope was married to Oenomaus,[1] and Merope to Sisyphus. And Poseidon had intercourse with two of them, first with Celaeno, by whom he had Lycus, whom Poseidon made to dwell in the Islands of the Blest, and second with Alcyone, who bore a daughter, Aethusa, the mother of Eleuther by Apollo, and two sons Hyrieus and Hyperenor. Hyrieus had Nycteus and Lycus by a nymph Clonia; and Nycteus had Antiope by Polyxo; and Antiope had Zethus and Amphion by Zeus.[2] And Zeus consorted with the other daughters of Atlas.

Maia, the eldest, as the fruit of her intercourse with Zeus, gave birth to Hermes in a cave of Cyllene.[3] He was laid in swaddling-bands on the winnowing fan,[4] but he slipped out and made his way to Pieria

[3] The following account of the birth and youthful exploits of Hermes is based, whether directly or indirectly, on the beautiful Homeric Hymn IV, *To Hermes*, though it differs from the hymn on a few minor points, as to which Apollodorus may have used other sources. Compare *The Homeric Hymns*, ed. T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes, pp. 130 *sq.* Among the other literary sources to which Apollodorus may have had recourse was perhaps Sophocles's satyric play *Ichneutae* or *The Trackers*. See below.

[4] Compare the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, 21, 63, 150 *sq.*, 254, 290, 358; Sophocles, *Ichneutae*, 269 (*The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, ii. 258). So Dionysus at birth is said to have been laid on a winnowing-fan (Servius on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 166): hence he got the surname of "He of the Winnowing-fan" (Λικνίτης, Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 35). These traditions as to the gods merely reflected an ancient Greek custom of placing new-born children in winnowing-fans "as an omen of wealth and fruitfulness" (πλοῦτον καὶ καρπὸν οἰωνιζόμενοι). See the Scholiast on Callimachus, *Hymn* I, 48 (*Callimachea*, ed. O. Schneider, i. 109). As to the symbolism of the custom, see W. Mannhardt, "Kind und Korn," *Mythologische Forschungen*, pp. 351–374; Miss J. E. Harrison, "Mystica Vannus Iacchi," *Journal of Hellenic*

Πιερίαν παραγίνεται, καὶ κλέπτει βόας ἃς ἔνεμεν Ἀπόλλων. ἵνα δὲ μὴ φωραθείη ὑπὸ τῶν ἰχνῶν,

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Studies, xxiii. (1903), pp. 292-324. The custom was not confined to ancient Greece, but has been widely practised in India and other parts of the east down to modern times. The motives assigned or implied for it are various. Sometimes it seems to have been intended to ensure the wealth and prosperity of the infant, sometimes to guard it against the evil eye and other dangerous influences. See *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, i. 5-11. To quote a single example, among the Brahuis of Baluchistan, "most good parents keep their babe for the first six days in a *chaj*, or winnowing-basket, that God may vouchsafe them full as many children as the basket can hold grain . . . But some folk will have nothing to do with a winnowing-basket; it harbours epilepsy, they say, though how or why I am at a loss to think. So they lay the child in a sieve, that good luck may pour upon him as abundantly as grain pours through a sieve" (Denys Bray, *The Life-History of a Brāhūi*, London, 1913, p. 13). The substitution of a corn sieve for a winnowing-fan seems to be common elsewhere.

[1] Compare *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 68 *sqq.*; Antonínus Liberalis, *Transform.* 23; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 680 *sqq.* The theft of cattle by the infant Hermes was the subject of Sophocles's satyric drama *Ichneutae* or *The Trackers*, of which some considerable fragments have been discovered in recent years. The scene of the play is laid on Mount Cyllene. Apollo appears and complains of the loss of the cattle, describes how he has come from Thessaly and through Boeotia in search of them, and offers a reward to anyone who will help him to find the missing beasts. The proclamation reaches the ears of Silenus, who hurries to the scene of action and warmly proffers the services of himself and his Satyrs in the search, only stipulating that the reward shall take the solid shape of cash down. His offer being accepted, the Satyrs at once open on the scent like sleuth-hounds and soon discover confused tracks of cattle pointing in different directions. But in the very heat of this discovery they are startled by a strange sound, the like of which they had never heard before. It is, in fact, the muffled sound of the lyre

and stole the kine which Apollo was herding.[1] And lest he should be detected by the tracks, he put

played by the youthful Hermes in the cave. At this point the nymph Cyllene issues from the cavern and upbraids the wild creatures with the hubbub they are raising in the stillness of the green wooded hills. The Satyrs tender a humble apology for their intrusion, but request to know the meaning of the strange sounds that proceed from the bowels of the earth. In compliance with their request the nymph explains how Zeus had secretly begotten Hermes on Maia in the cave, how she herself was acting temporarily as nurse to the child, how the infant grew at an astonishing and even alarming rate, and how, being detained in the cave by his father's orders, he devoted his leisure hours to constructing out of a dead beast a curious toy which emitted musical notes. Being pressed for a fuller explanation she describes how Hermes made the lyre out of a tortoise shell, how the instrument was "his only balm of grief, his comforter," and how the child was transported with delight at the ravishing sweetness of the tones which spoke to him from the dead beast. Unmoved by this touching description, the Satyrs at once charge the precocious infant with having stolen the cattle. His nurse indignantly repels the charge, stoutly declaring that the poor child had inherited no propensity to thieving either from its father or from its mother, and recommending his accusers to go and look for the thief elsewhere, since at their age, with their long beards and bald heads, they ought to know better than to trump up such ridiculous accusations, for which they may yet have to smart. The nurse's passionate defence of her little charge makes no more impression on the Satyrs than her previous encomium on his musical talent: indeed their suspicions are quickened by her reference to the hides which the infant prodigy had used in the construction of the lyre, and they unhesitatingly identify the skins in question with those of the missing cattle. Strong in this conviction, they refuse to budge till the culprit has been made over to them. At this point the Greek text begins to fail; we can just catch a few disjointed fragments of a heated dialogue between the nurse and the satyrs; the words "cows," "thief," "rascal," and so forth, occur with painful iteration, then all is silence. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*,

ὑποδήματα τοῖς ποσὶ περιέθηκε, καὶ κομίσας εἰς Πύλον τὰς μὲν λοιπὰς εἰς σπήλαιον ἀπέκρυψε, δύο δὲ καταθύσας τὰς μὲν βύρσας πέτραις καθήλωσε, τῶν δὲ κρεῶν τὰ μὲν κατηνάλωσεν ἑψήσας τὰ δὲ κατέκαυσε· καὶ ταχέως εἰς Κυλλήνην ὤχετο. καὶ εὑρίσκει πρὸ τοῦ ἄντρου νεμομένην χελώνην. ταύτην ἐκκαθάρας, εἰς τὸ κύτος χορδὰς ἐντείνας ἐξ ὧν ἔθυσε βοῶν καὶ ἐργασάμενος λύραν εὗρε καὶ πλῆκτρον. Ἀπόλλων δὲ τὰς βόας ζητῶν εἰς Πύλον ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἀνέκρινεν. οἱ δὲ ἰδεῖν μὲν παῖδα ἐλαύνοντα ἔφασκον, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ εἰπεῖν ποῖ ποτε ἠλάθησαν διὰ τὸ μὴ εὑρεῖν ἴχνος δύνασθαι. μαθὼν δὲ ἐκ τῆς μαντικῆς τὸν κεκλοφότα πρὸς Μαῖαν εἰς Κυλλήνην παραγίνεται, καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ᾐτιᾶτο. ἡ δὲ ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις. Ἀπόλλων δὲ αὐτὸν πρὸς Δία κομίσας τὰς βόας ἀπῄτει. Διὸς δὲ κελεύοντος ἀποδοῦναι ἠρνεῖτο. μὴ πείθων δὲ ἄγει τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα εἰς Πύλον καὶ τὰς βόας ἀποδίδωσιν. ἀκούσας δὲ τῆς λύρας ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἀντιδίδωσι τὰς βόας. Ἑρμῆς δὲ ταύτας νέμων σύριγγα πάλιν πηξάμενος ἐσύριζεν. Ἀπόλλων δὲ καὶ

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ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 224–270. From this seemingly simple piece of mild buffoonery Miss J. E. Harrison would extract a ritual of serious and indeed solemn significance, of which, however, she admits that the author of the play was himself probably quite unconscious. See her learned essay in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*, ed. E. C. Quiggin (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 136 *sqq.*

[1] In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (115 *sqq.*) we are told that Hermes roasted the flesh of two oxen and divided it into twelve portions (for the twelve gods), but that in spite of hunger he ate none of it himself.

shoes on their feet and brought them to Pylus, and hid the rest in a cave; but two he sacrificed and nailed the skins to rocks, while of the flesh he boiled and ate some,[1] and some he burned. And quickly he departed to Cyllene. And before the cave he found a tortoise browsing. He cleaned it out, strung the shell with chords made from the kine he had sacrificed, and having thus produced a lyre he invented also a plectrum.[2] But Apollo came to Pylus[3] in search of the kine, and he questioned the inhabitants. They said that they had seen a boy driving cattle, but could not say whither they had been driven, because they could find no track. Having discovered the thief by divination,[4] Apollo came to Maia at Cyllene and accused Hermes. But she showed him the child in his swaddling-bands. So Apollo brought him to Zeus, and claimed the kine; and when Zeus bade him restore them, Hermes denied that he had them, but not being believed he led Apollo to Pylus and restored the kine. Howbeit, when Apollo heard the lyre, he gave the kine in exchange for it. And while Hermes pastured them, he again made himself a shepherd's pipe and piped on it.[5] And

[2] Compare Sophocles, *Ichneutae*, 278 *sqq.* (*The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, ii. 259). In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 22 *sqq.*, the invention of the lyre by Hermes precedes his theft of the cattle.

[3] In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (185 *sqq.*) it is to Onchestus in Boeotia, not to Pylus, that Apollo goes at first to inquire after the missing cattle.

[4] Compare the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 213 *sq.*, where it is said that Apollo discovered Hermes to be the thief through observing a certain long-winged bird.

[5] Compare the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 511 *sq.*, where, however, nothing is said about an attempt of Apollo to get the pipes from Hermes, or about an exchange of the pipes for

ταύτην βουλόμενος λαβεῖν, τὴν χρυσῆν ῥάβδον ἐδίδου ἣν ἐκέκτητο βουκολῶν. ὁ δὲ καὶ ταύτην λαβεῖν ἀντὶ τῆς σύριγγος ἤθελε καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν ἐπελθεῖν· καὶ δοὺς διδάσκεται τὴν διὰ τῶν ψήφων μαντικήν. Ζεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν κήρυκα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ θεῶν ὑποχθονίων τίθησι.

3 Ταϋγέτη δὲ ἐκ Διὸς <ἐγέννησε>[1] Λακεδαίμονα, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Λακεδαίμων ἡ χώρα καλεῖται. Λακεδαίμονος δὲ καὶ Σπάρτης τῆς Εὐρώτα, ὃς ἦν ἀπὸ Λέλεγος αὐτόχθονος καὶ νύμφης νηίδος Κλεοχαρείας, Ἀμύκλας καὶ Εὐρυδίκη, ἣν ἔγημεν Ἀκρίσιος. Ἀμύκλα δὲ καὶ Διομήδης τῆς Λαπίθου Κυνόρτης καὶ Τάκινθος. τοῦτον εἶναι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐρώμενον λέγουσιν, ὃν δίσκῳ βαλὼν ἄκων ἀπέκτεινε.

[1] ἐγέννησε conjecturally supplied by Hercher. A verb is certainly wanted. It may have been ἔτεκε.

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the golden wand. However, there is a lacuna in the hymn after verse 526, and the missing passage may have contained the exchange in question and the request of Hermes for the gift of divination, both of which are mentioned by Apollodorus but omitted in the hymn as it stands at present. See Allen and Sikes on the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 526 *sq.*, in their edition of the Homeric Hymns, p. 190.

[1] For the gift of the golden wand, see *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 527 *sqq.*

[2] Compare the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 552 *sqq.* The reference is to the divining pebbles called *thriae*, which were personified as three winged sisters who dwelt on Parnassus, and are said to have been the nurses of Apollo. See Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 75; Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo*, 45, with the Scholiast; *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 455. 45, *s.v.* Θρία; Hesychius, *s.v.* θριαί; *Anecdota Graeca*, ed. Im. Bekker, i. 265. 11, *s.v.* Θριάσιον πεδίον. According to one account, the divining pebbles were an invention of Athena, which so disgusted Apollo that Zeus caused that mode of divination to fall into discredit, though it had been in high repute before;

wishing to get the pipe also, Apollo offered to give him the golden wand which he owned while he herded cattle.[1] But Hermes wished both to get the wand for the pipe and to acquire the art of divination. So he gave the pipe and learned the art of divining by pebbles.[2] And Zeus appointed him herald to himself and to the infernal gods.

Taygete had by Zeus a son Lacedaemon, after whom the country of Lacedaemon is called.[3] Lacedaemon and Sparta, daughter of Eurotas (who was a son of Lelex,[4] a son of the soil, by a Naiad nymph Cleocharia), had a son Amyclas and a daughter Eurydice, whom Acrisius married. Amyclas and Diomede, daughter of Lapithes, had sons, Cynortes and Hyacinth.[5] They say that this Hyacinth was beloved of Apollo and killed by him involuntarily with the

and Apollo vented his spite at the practitioners of a rival art by saying that "There be many that cast pebbles, but few prophets." See Zenobius, *l.c.*; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Θρία. This tradition may perhaps be accepted as evidence that in time the simple mode of divination by pebbles went out of fashion, being cast into the shade by the far more stately and imposing ritual of the frenzied prophetesses at Delphi, whose wild words were accepted as the very utterances of the deity. However, we are informed that in the temple at Delphi there were divining pebbles in a bowl on a tripod, and that when an inquirer applied to the oracle, the pebbles danced about in the bowl, while the inspired priestess prophesied. See Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci*, Appendix Narrationum, No. 67, p. 384; Suidas, *s.v.* Πυθώ. As to Greek divination by pebbles, see A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité*, i. 192, *sqq.*; and my note on Pausanias, vii. 25. 10 (vol. iv. pp. 172 *sqq.*).

[3] Compare Pausanias, iii. 1. 2; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 626.

[4] According to Pausanias (iii. 1. 1), Eurotas was a son of Myles, who was a son of Lelex.

[5] Compare Pausanias, iii. 1. 3.

Κυνόρτου δὲ Περιήρης, ὃς γαμεῖ Γοργοφόνην τὴν Περσέως, καθάπερ Στησίχορός φησι, καὶ τίκτει Τυνδάρεων Ἰκάριον Ἀφαρέα Λεύκιππον. Ἀφαρέως μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀρήνης τῆς Οἰβάλου[1] Λυγκεύς τε καὶ Ἴδας καὶ Πεῖσος· κατὰ πολλοὺς δὲ Ἴδας ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος λέγεται. Λυγκεὺς δὲ ὀξυδερκίᾳ διήνεγκεν, ὡς καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆν θεωρεῖν. Λευκίππου δὲ θυγατέρες ἐγένοντο Ἱλάειρα καὶ Φοίβη· ταύτας ἁρπάσαντες ἔγημαν Διόσκουροι. πρὸς δὲ ταύταις Ἀρσινόην ἐγέννησε. ταύτῃ μίγνυται Ἀπόλλων, ἡ δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸν γεννᾷ. τινὲς δὲ Ἀσκληπιὸν οὐκ ἐξ Ἀρσινόης τῆς Λευκίππου λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ Κορωνίδος τῆς Φλεγύου ἐν

[1] Οἰβάλου Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 511, Aegius: οἰβάδου A.

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[1] See above, i. 3. 3; Nicander, *Ther.* 901 *sqq.*, with the Scholiast on v. 902; Pausanias, iii. 1. 3, iii. 19. 5; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 241 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 161–219; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxi. 66; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 37, 135 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 117; Second Vatican Mythographer, 181). The tomb of Hyacinth was shown at Amyclae under the great image of Apollo; a bronze door opened into the tomb, and sacrifices were there offered to him as a hero. See Pausanias, iii. 19. 3. Compare *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Third Edition, i. 313 *sqq.*

[2] See above, i. 9. 5, where Apollodorus represents Perieres as the son of Aeolus (compare i. 7. 3), though he adds that many people regarded him as the son of Cynortas. See below iii. 10. 4 note.

[3] Compare Pindar, *Nem.* x. 62 (116) *sq.*; Pausanias, iv. 2. 7 (who seems to have misunderstood the foregoing passage of Pindar); Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 553; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14, p. 42, ed. Bunte.

[4] See below, iii. 11. 2.

cast of a quoit.[1] Cynortes had a son Perieres, who married Gorgophone, daughter of Perseus, as Stesichorus says, and she bore Tyndareus, Icarius, Aphareus, and Leucippus.[2] Aphareus and Arene, daughter of Oebalus, had sons Lynceus and Idas and Pisus; but according to many, Idas is said to have been gotten by Poseidon. Lynceus excelled in sharpness of sight, so that he could even see things under ground.[3] Leucippus had daughters, Hilaira and Phoebe: these the Dioscuri carried off and married.[4] Besides them Leucippus begat Arsinoe: with her Apollo had intercourse, and she bore Aesculapius. But some affirm that Aesculapius was not a son of Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus, but that he was a son of Coronis, daughter of Phlegyas in Thessaly.[5]

[5] The ancients were divided with regard to the mother of Aesculapius, some maintaining that she was a Messenian woman Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus, others that she was a Thessalian woman Coronis, daughter of Phlegyas. See the Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 8 (14), who quotes authorities on both sides: amongst the champions of Arsinoe were Asclepiades and an Argive writer named Socrates. The claims of the Messenian Arsinoe were naturally supported by patriotic Messenians, who looked on the god and his sons as in a sense their fellow countrymen. See Pausanias, ii. 26. 3-7, iv. 3. 2, iv. 31. 12. Apollodorus apparently accepted the Messenian view. But on the other side a long array of authorities declared in favour of Coronis, and her claim to be the mother of the god had the powerful support of the priesthood of Aesculapius at Epidaurus, one of the principal seats of the worship of the healing god. See the *Homeric Hymn to Aesculapius*, xvi. 1 *sqq.*; Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 8 (14) *sqq.*; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonaut.* iv. 616 *sq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 71. 1, v. 74. 6; Pausanias, ii. 26. 3–7; Hyginus, *Fab.* 202; *id. Astronom.* ii. 40; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 617; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 506; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 17 and 37 (First Vatican Mythographer, 46 and 115). Pausanias,

Θεσσαλία. καί φασιν ἐρασθῆναι ταύτης Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ εὐθέως συνελθεῖν· τὴν δὲ[1] παρὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμην [ἑλομένην][2] Ἴσχυϊ τῷ Καινέως ἀδελφῷ συνοικεῖν. Ἀπόλλων δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀπαγγείλαντα κόρακα καταρᾶται, ὃν[3] τέως λευκὸν ὄντα ἐποίησε μέλανα, αὐτὴν δὲ ἀπέκτεινε. καιομένης δὲ αὐτῆς[4] ἁρπάσας τὸ βρέφος ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς πρὸς Χείρωνα τὸν Κένταυρον ἤνεγκε, παρ'

[1] τὴν δὲ Aegius, Heyne, Müller, Hercher, Wagner: τοῦ δὲ A, Westermann, Bekker.

[2] ἑλομένην Heyne, Müller, Wagner: ἑλομένου A, Bekker: ἑλωμένου R[a]: ἐρωμένου Sevinus, Westermann. Hercher omits the word, perhaps rightly.

[3] ὃν Faber. The MSS. read ὃς or ὡς.

[4] αὐτῆς A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher; ταύτης RR[a], Wagner.

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who expressly rejects the claim of Arsinoe, quotes in favour of Coronis a Delphic oracle, which he regards as decisive; for who should know the true mother of Aesculapius better than his own father Apollo? The testimony of the deity for once was quite unambiguous. It ran thus:—

"O born to be the world's great joy, Aesculapius,
Offspring of love, whom Phlegyas' daughter, fair Coronis, bore to me
In rugged Epidaurus."

See Pausanias, II. 26. 7. In modern times the stones of Epidaurus, if we may say so, have risen up to testify to the truth of this oracle. For in the course of the modern excavations at the great Epidaurian sanctuary of Aesculapius there was discovered a limestone tablet inscribed with a hymn in honour of Apollo and Aesculapius, in which the family tree of the junior god is set out with the utmost precision, and it entirely confirms the Delphic oracle. The author of the hymn was a certain native of Epidaurus, by name Isyllus, a man of such scrupulous accuracy that before publishing his hymn he took the precaution of submitting it to the fount of knowledge at Delphi with an inquiry whether the god would sanction its

And they say that Apollo loved her and at once consorted with her, but that she, against her father's judgment, preferred and cohabited with Ischys, brother of Caeneus. Apollo cursed the raven that brought the tidings and made him black instead of white, as he had been before; but he killed Coronis. As she was burning, he snatched the babe from the pyre and brought it to Chiron, the centaur,[1] by

publication. The deity granted his permission in very cordial terms; hence we may look on the hymn as an authentic document bearing the *imprimatur* of the Delphic Apollo himself. In it the pedigree of Aesculapius is traced as follows: Father Zeus bestowed the hand of the Muse Erato on Malus in holy matrimony (*ἁγίοισι γάμοις*). The pair had a daughter Cleophema, who married Phlegyas, a native of Epidaurus; and Phlegyas had by her a daughter Aegla, otherwise known as Coronis, whom Phoebus of the golden bow beheld in the house of her grandfather Malus, and falling in love he got by her a child, Aesculapius. See *Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική*, iii. (1885) coll. 65 *sqq.*; H. Collitz and F. Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, iii. 1, pp. 162 *sqq.*, No. 3342.

[1] The story how Coronis played her divine lover false and was killed by him, and how the god rescued his child from the burning pyre and carried him to Chiron, is told by Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 8 (14) *sqq.* Compare the Scholia on this passage of Pindar, especially on *v.* 27 (48); Pausanias, ii. 26. 6 (according to whom it was Hermes, not Apollo, who snatched the child from the burning pyre); Hyginus, *Fab.* 202; *id. Astronom.* ii. 40; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 506; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 17, 37, and 118 (First Vatican Mythographer, 46 and 115; Second Vatican Mythographer, 128). All these writers, except Pindar and Pausanias, relate the story of the tell-tale raven and his punishment. The story is also told by Ovid (*Metamorph.* ii. 534 *sqq.*) and Antoninus Liberalis (*Transform.*, 20), but neither of them mentions Aesculapius. It was narrated by Pherecydes, who may have been the source from which the other writers drew their information. See Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 34 (59). The name of the

ᾧ[1] καὶ τὴν ἰατρικὴν καὶ τὴν κυνηγετικὴν τρεφόμενος ἐδιδάχθη. καὶ γενόμενος χειρουργικὸς καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἀσκήσας ἐπὶ πολὺ οὐ μόνον ἐκώλυέ τινας ἀποθνήσκειν, ἀλλ' ἀνήγειρε καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας· παρὰ γὰρ Ἀθηνᾶς λαβὼν τὸ ἐκ τῶν φλεβῶν τῆς Γοργόνος ῥυὲν αἷμα, τῷ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ῥυέντι πρὸς φθορὰν ἀνθρώπων ἐχρῆτο, τῷ δὲ ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν πρὸς σωτηρίαν, καὶ διὰ τούτου[2] τοὺς τεθνηκότας ἀνήγειρεν. [εὗρον[3] δέ τινας λεγομένους ἀναστῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, Καπανέα καὶ Λυκοῦργον, ὡς Στησίχορός φησιν <ἐν> Ἐριφύλῃ, Ἱππόλυτον, ὡς ὁ τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ συγ-

[1] ᾧ A : οὗ Hercher, Wagner.

[2] διὰ τούτου A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher : διὰ τοῦτο ES, Wagner (but wrongly, since διὰ with the accusative is never used to express the instrument).

[3] As Heyne pointed out, the following list of persons raised from the dead by Aesculapius is probably a marginal gloss which has crept into the text. Nowhere else does Apollodorus speak of himself in the first person or indeed make any reference to himself.

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human lover of Coronis is given as Ischys, son of Elatus, by Pindar and Pausanias in agreement with Apollodorus. But Antoninus Liberalis calls him Aleyoneus ; Lactantius Placidus and the Second Vatican Mythographer call him Lycus ; and the First Vatican Mythographer describes him (*Fab.* 115) simply as the son of Elatus. As to the connexion of Coronis with the raven or the crow in Greek legendary lore, see my note on Pausanias, ii. 17. 11 (vol. iii. pp. 72 *sq.*). Compare D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, p. 93.

[1] Compare Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 18, who probably copied Apollodorus. According to Euripides (*Ion*, 999 *sqq.*), Pallas gave Erichthonius two drops of the Gorgon's blood, one of them a deadly poison, the other a powerful medicine for the healing of diseases.

[2] For other lists of dead men whom Aesculapius is said to have restored to life, see Sextus Empiricus, p. 658, ed.

whom he was brought up and taught the arts of healing and hunting. And having become a surgeon, and carried the art to a great pitch, he not only prevented some from dying, but even raised up the dead; for he had received from Athena the blood that flowed from the veins of the Gorgon, and while he used the blood that flowed from the veins on the left side for the bane of mankind, he used the blood that flowed from the right side for salvation, and by that means he raised the dead.[1] I found some who are reported to have been raised by him,[2] to wit, Capaneus and Lycurgus,[3] as Stesichorus says in the *Eriphyle;* Hippolytus,[4] as the author of the *Nau-*

Bekker; Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 54 (96); Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1. These two Scholiasts mention that according to Pherecydes the people who died at Delphi were raised from the dead by Aesculapius. To the list of dead men whom Aesculapius restored to life, Propertius adds Androgeus, son of Minos (ii. 1. 61 *sq.*).

[3] The resurrection of these two men by the power of Aesculapius is mentioned also, on the authority of Stesichorus, by the Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1, and the Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 54 (96). Otherwise the event is apparently not noticed by ancient writers, and of the many legendary persons who bore the name of Lycurgus we do not know which is referred to. Heyne conjectured that the incident took place in the war of the Epigoni against Thebes, when Capaneus, one of the original Seven against Thebes, and Lycurgus, son of Pronax (as to whom see i. 9. 13) may have been restored to life by Aesculapius. This conjecture is confirmed by a passage of Sextus Empiricus (p. 658 ed. Bekker), where we read: "Stesichorus in his *Eriphyle* says that he (Aesculapius) raised up some of those who fell at Thebes."

[4] As to the restoration of Hippolytus to life by Aesculapius see Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 54 (96) *sqq.*, with the Scholiast; Sextus Empiricus, p. 658, ed. Bekker (who quotes as his authority Staphylus in his book on the Arcadians); Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1 (who quotes Apollodorus as his authority);

γράψας λέγει, Τυνδάρεων, ὥς φησι Πανύασις,[1] Τμέναιον, ὡς οἱ Ὀρφικοὶ λέγουσι, Γλαῦκον τὸν
4 Μίνωος, ὡς Μελησαγόρας λέγει.] Ζεὺς δὲ φοβηθεὶς μὴ λαβόι τες ἄνθρωποι θεραπείαν παρ' αὐτοῦ[2] βοηθῶσιν ἀλλήλοις, ἐκεραύνωσεν αὐτόν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀργισθεὶς Ἀπόλλων κτείνει Κύκλωπας τοὺς τὸν κεραυνὸν Διὶ κατασκευάσαντας. Ζεὺς δὲ ἐμέλλησε ῥίπτειν αὐτὸν εἰς Τάρταρον, δεηθείσης

[1] Πανύασις S, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker: Παν(ά)σασις RR[a] C', Wagner. [2] αὐτοῦ ES: αὐτῶν A.

Eratosthenes, *Catasterr.* 6; Hyginus, *Fab.* 49; *id. Astronom.* ii. 14; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* v. 434, vi. 353 (375). After his resurrection Hippolytus is said to have gone to dwell at Aricia, on the Alban Hills, near Rome, where he reigned as a king and dedicated a precinct to Diana. See Pausanias, ii. 27. 4; Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 761 *sqq.*, with the commentary of Servius; Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 263 *sqq.*, vi. 735 *sqq.*; *id. Metamorph.* xv. 297 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Persius, *Sat.* vi. 56, pp. 347 *sq.*, ed. O. Jahn; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 17; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 118 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 128). The silence of Apollodorus as to this well-known Italian legend, which was told to account for the famous priesthood of Diana at Aricia, like his complete silence as to Rome, which he never mentions, tends to show that Apollodorus either deliberately ignored the Roman empire or wrote at a time when there was but little intercourse between Greece and that part of Italy which was under Roman rule.

[1] For the raising of Tyndareus from the dead by Aesculapius see also Sextus Empiricus, p. 658, ed. Bekker; Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1 (both these writers cite Panyasis as their authority); Lucian, *De saltatione*, 45; Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 47; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxix. 3.

[2] See above, iii. 3. 1.

[3] This account of the death of Aesculapius, the revenge of Apollo, and his servitude with Admetus is copied almost verbally by Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 18, but as usual without acknowledgment. Compare Pherecydes, quoted by the

pactica reports; Tyndareus, as Panyasis says;[1] Hymenaeus, as the Orphics report; and Glaucus, son of Minos,[2] as Melesagoras relates. But Zeus, fearing that men might acquire the healing art from him and so come to the rescue of each other, smote him with a thunderbolt.[3] Angry on that account, Apollo slew the Cyclopes who had fashioned the thunderbolt for Zeus.[4] But Zeus would have hurled him to Tartarus;

Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1; Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 54 (96) *sqq.*; Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1 *sqq.*, 123 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 71. 1–3; Hyginus, *Fab.* 49; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 761; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 17 (First Vatican Mythographer, 46). According to Diodorus Siculus (*l.c.*) Aesculapius as a physician was so successful in his practice that the death rate was perceptibly lowered, and Hades accused the doctor to Zeus of poaching on his preserves. The accusation angered Zeus, and he killed Aesculapius with a thunderbolt. According to Pherecydes, with whom Apollodorus agrees, the period of Apollo's servitude with Admetus was one year; according to Servius and the First Vatican Mythographer it was nine years. This suggests that the period may have been what was called a "great" or "eternal" year, which included eight ordinary years. See above, iii. 4. 2, with the note on ii. 5. 11. According to one account the motive for Apollo's servitude was his love for Admetus. See Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo*, 45 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1, quoting Rhianus as his authority. Apollo is said to have served Branchus as well as Admetus (Philostratus, *Epist.* 57), and we have seen that he served Laomedon. See above, ii. 5. 9 note.

[4] According to Pherecydes, quoted by the Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1, it was not the Cyclopes but their sons whom Apollo slew. The passage of Pherecydes, as quoted by the Scholiast, runs as follows: "To him" (that is, to Admetus) "came Apollo, to serve him as a thrall for a year, at the command of Zeus, because Apollo had slain the sons of Brontes, of Steropes, and of Arges. He slew them out of spite at Zeus, because Zeus slew his son Aesculapius with a thunderbolt at Pytho; for by his remedies Aesculapius raised the dead."

δὲ Λητοῦς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνδρὶ θητεῦσαι. ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς Φερὰς πρὸς Ἄδμητον τὸν Φέρητος τούτῳ λατρεύων ἐποίμαινε, καὶ τὰς θηλείας βόας πάσας διδυμοτόκους ἐποίησεν.

Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες Ἀφαρέα μὲν καὶ Λεύκιππον ἐκ Περιήρους γενέσθαι τοῦ Αἰόλου, Κυνόρτου δὲ Περιήρην, τοῦ δὲ Οἴβαλον, Οἰβάλου δὲ καὶ νηίδος νύμφης Βατείας Τυνδάρεων Ἱπποκόωντα Ἰκάριον. Ἱπποκόωντος μὲν οὖν ἐγένοντο παῖδες Δορυκλεὺς[1] Σκαῖος Ἐναροφόρος Εὐτείχης Βουκόλος

[1] Δορυκλεύς. Heyne conjectured Δορκεύς (comparing Pausanias, iii. 15. 1 *sq.*), which is accepted by Bekker and Hercher.

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[1] See Appendix, "Apollo and the Kine of Admetus."

[2] As to these genealogies see above, i. 7. 3, i. 9. 5, ii. 4. 5, iii. 10. 3; Pausanias, ii. 21. 7, iii. 1. 3 *sq.*, iv. 2. 2 and 4; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 284, 511. Pausanias consistently represents Perieres as the son of Aeolus, and this tradition had the support of Hesiod (quoted by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 284). On the other hand Tzetzes represents Perieres as the son of Cynortes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 511). Apollodorus here and elsewhere (i. 9. 5) mentions both traditions without deciding between them. In two passages (i. 7. 3, i. 9. 5) he asserts or implies that the father of Perieres was Aeolus; in another passage (iii. 10. 3) he asserts that the father of Perieres was Cynortes. In the present passage he seems to say that according to one tradition there were two men of the name of Perieres: one of them was the son of Aeolus and father of Aphareus and Leucippus; the other was the son of Cynortes and father of Oebalus, who married the nymph Batia and became by her the father of Tyndareus, Hippocoon, and Icarius. Pausanias says that Gorgophone, daughter of Perseus, first married Perieres and had by him two sons, Aphareus and Leucippus, and that after his death she married Oebalus, son of Cynortas (Cynortes), and had by him a son Tyndareus. See Pausanias, ii. 21. 7, iii. 1. 4, iv. 2. 4. Apollodorus, on the other hand, represents Perieres as the father not only of Aphareus and Leucippus, but also

however, at the intercession of Latona he ordered him to serve as a thrall to a man for a year. So he went to Admetus, son of Pheres, at Pherae, and served him as a herdsman, and caused all the cows to drop twins.[1]

But some say that Aphareus and Leucippus were sons of Perieres, the son of Aeolus, and that Cynortes begat Perieres, and that Perieres begat Oebalus, and that Oebalus begat Tyndareus, Hippocoon, and Icarius by a Naiad nymph Batia.[2]

Now Hippocoon had sons, to wit: Dorycleus, Scaeus, Enarophorus, Eutiches, Bucolus, Lycaethus,

of Tyndareus and Icarius by Gorgophone, daughter of Perseus. See above, i. 9. 5, iii. 10. 3. Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 511) agrees with him as to the sons, but makes Perieres the son of Cynortas instead the son of Aeolus. Thus there were two traditions as to the father of Tyndareus; according to one, his father was Perieres, according to the other, he was Oebalus. But the two traditions were agreed as to the mother of Tyndareus, whom they represented as Gorgophone, daughter of Perseus. According to another account, which may have been intended to reconcile the discrepant traditions as to the father of Tyndareus, Oebalus was the son of Perieres and the father of Tyndareus, Icarius, Arene, and the bastard Hippocoon, whom he had by Nicostrate. See Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 457; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 581. This account is mentioned, but apparently not accepted, by Apollodorus in the present passage, though he says nothing about the daughter Arene and the bastardy of Hippocoon. If we accept this last version of the genealogy, Tyndareus was descended both from Oebalus and Perieres, being the son of Oebalus and the grandson of Perieres. In a recently discovered fragment of the *Catalogues* of Hesiod, that poet calls Tyndareus an Oebalid, implying that his father was Oebalus. See *Griechische Dichterfragmente*, i., *Epische und elegische Fragmente*, bearbeitet von W. Schubart und U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (Berlin, 1907), p. 30, line 38 (*Berliner Klassikertexte*, v. 1); *Hesiod*, ed. H. G. Evelyn-White, p. 194, Frag. 68, line 38 (*The Loeb Classical Library*).

Λύκαιθος Τέβρος[1] Ἱππόθοος Εὔρυτος Ἱπποκορυστὴς Ἀλκίνους Ἄλκων. τούτους Ἱπποκόων ἔχων παῖδας Ἰκάριον[2] καὶ Τυνδάρεων ἐξέβαλε Λακεδαίμονος. οἱ δὲ φεύγουσι πρὸς Θέστιον, καὶ συμμαχοῦσιν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους πόλεμον ἔχοντι· καὶ γαμεῖ Τυνδάρεως Θεστίου θυγατέρα Λήδαν. αὖθις δέ, ὅτε Ἡρακλῆς Ἱπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς τούτου παῖδας ἀπέκτεινε, κατέρχονται, καὶ παραλαμβάνει Τυνδάρεως τὴν βασιλείαν.

6 Ἰκαρίου μὲν οὖν καὶ Περιβοίας νύμφης νηίδος Θόας Δαμάσιππος Ἰμεύσιμος Ἀλήτης Περίλεως, καὶ θυγάτηρ Πηνελόπη, ἣν ἔγημεν Ὀδυσσεύς· Τυνδάρεω δὲ καὶ Λήδας Τιμάνδρα, ἣν Ἔχεμος ἔγημε, καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρα, ἣν ἔγημεν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἔτι τε Φυλονόη, ἣν Ἄρτεμις ἀθάνατον
7 ἐποίησε. Διὸς δὲ Λήδᾳ συνελθόντος ὁμοιωθέντος κύκνῳ, καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν νύκτα Τυνδάρεω,[3] Διὸς μὲν ἐγεννήθη Πολυδεύκης καὶ Ἑλένη, Τυνδάρεω δὲ Κάστωρ <καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρα>.[4] λέγουσι

[1] Σεβρός Pausanias, iii. 15. 1 *sq.*

[2] ἰκαρὶ R (R[a]): ἰκαρίωνα A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher. For the form Ἰκάριος compare i. 9. 5.

[3] Τυνδάρεω RR[a]: τυνδάρεως A.

[4] καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρα inserted conjecturally by Gale, Bekker, Hercher, and Wagner, approved by Heyne.

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[1] As to the banishment of Tyndareus and his restoration by Hercules, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 33. 5; Pausanias, ii. 18. 7, iii. 1. 4 *sq.*, iii. 21. 4; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 457; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 581. According to the Scholiasts on Euripides and Homer (*ll.cc.*), Icarius joined Hippocoon in driving his brother Tyndareus out of Sparta.

[2] See above, ii. 7. 3.

[3] According to the Scholiast on Homer (*Od.* xv. 16), the wife of Icarius was Dorodoche, daughter of Ortilochus; but

Tebrus, Hippothous, Eurytus, Hippocorystes, Alcinus, and Alcon. With the help of these sons Hippocoon expelled Icarius and Tyndareus from Lacedaemon.[1] They fled to Thestius and allied themselves with him in the war which he waged with his neighbours; and Tyndareus married Leda, daughter of Thestius. But afterwards, when Hercules slew Hippocoon and his sons,[2] they returned, and Tyndareus succeeded to the kingdom.

Icarius and Periboea, a Naiad nymph,[3] had five sons, Thoas, Damasippus, Imeusimus, Aletes, Perileos,[4] and a daughter Penelope, whom Ulysses married.[5] Tyndareus and Leda had daughters, to wit, Timandra, whom Echemus married,[6] and Clytaemnestra, whom Agamemnon married; also another daughter Phylonoe, whom Artemis made immortal. But Zeus in the form of a swan consorted with Leda, and on the same night Tyndareus cohabited with her; and she bore Pollux and Helen to Zeus, and Castor and Clytaemnestra to Tyndareus.[7] But some say that Helen

he adds that according to Pherecydes she was Asterodia, daughter of Eurypylus.

[4] Perileos (Perilaus), son of Icarius, is said to have accused the matricide Orestes at the court of the Areopagus. See Pausanias, viii. 34. 4.

[5] Compare Pausanias, iii. 12. 1, iii. 20. 10 *sq.* According to the former of these passages, Ulysses won her hand in a foot-race. As to races for brides, see iii. 9. 2, *Epitome* ii. 5, and note on i. 7. 8.

[6] Compare Pausanias, viii. 5. 1.

[7] Compare Euripides, *Helen*, 16 *sqq.*; Lucian, *Dial. deorum*, xx. 14; *id. Charidemus*, 7; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 298; Hyginus, *Fab.* 77; *id. Astronom.* ii. 8; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H Bode, vol. i. pp. 27, 64, 119 *sq.*, 163 (First Vatican Mythographer, 78 and 204; Second Vatican Mythographer, 132; Third Vatican Mythographer, 3. 6). As the fruit of her intercourse with the swan, Leda is said to have laid an egg, which in the time of Pau-

δὲ ἔνιοι Νεμέσεως Ἑλένην εἶναι καὶ Διός. ταυτην γὰρ τὴν Διὸς φεύγουσαν συνουσίαν εἰς χῆνα τὴν μορφὴν μεταβαλεῖν, ὁμοιωθέϊτα δὲ καὶ Δια κύκνῳ συνελθεῖν· τὴν δὲ ᾠὸν ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας ἀποτεκεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄλσεσιν[1] εὑρόντα τινὰ ποιμένα Λήδᾳ κομίσαντα δοῦναι, τὴν δὲ καταθεμένην εἰς λάρνακα φυλάσσειν, καὶ χρόνῳ καθήκοντι γεννηθεῖσαν Ἑλένην ὡς ἐξ αὐτῆς θυγατέρα τρέφειν. γενομένην δὲ αὐτὴν κάλλει διαπρεπῆ Θησεὺς ἁρπάσας εἰς Ἀφίδνας[2] ἐκόμισε. Πολυδεύκης δὲ καὶ Καστωρ[3] ἐπιστρατεύσαντες, ἐν Ἅιδου Θησέως ὄντος, αἱροῦσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην λαμβάνουσι, καὶ τὴν Θησέως μητέρα Αἴθραν

[1] ἄλσεσιν A: ἄλσεσι S: ἕλεσιν L. Preller (*Griechische Mythologie*[3], ii. 110, note 5), Hercher (compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 88, ἐν τῷ ἕλει).

[2] Ἀφίδνας SR (first hand): ἀθήνας R (second hand), A.

[3] Καστωρ. Here SR add εἰς Ἀφίδνας or εἰς Ἀθήνας, as above. The words are omitted by Bekker, Hercher, and Wagner.

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sanias was still to be seen hanging by ribbons from the roof of the temple of Hilaira and Phoebe at Sparta. See Pausanias, iii. 16. 1. According to one account (First Vatican Mythographer, 78), Castor, Pollux, and Helen all emerged from a single egg; according to another account (First Vatican Mythographer, 204), Leda laid two eggs, one of which produced Castor and Pollux, and the other Clytaemnestra and Helen. In heaven the twins Castor and Pollux had each, if we may believe Lucian, half an egg on or above his head in token of the way in which he had been hatched. See Lucian, *Dialog. deorum*, xxvi. 1. For the distinction between Pollux and Castor, the former being regarded as the son of Zeus and the latter as the son of Tyndareus, see Pindar, *Nem.* x. 79 (149) *sq.* According to Hesiod, both Pollux and Castor were sons of Zeus. See Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* x. 80 (150).

was a daughter of Nemesis and Zeus; for that she, flying from the arms of Zeus, changed herself into a goose, but Zeus in his turn took the likeness of a swan and so enjoyed her; and as the fruit of their loves she laid an egg, and a certain shepherd found it in the groves and brought and gave it to Leda; and she put it in a chest and kept it; and when Helen was hatched in due time, Leda brought her up as her own daughter.[1] And when she grew into a lovely woman, Theseus carried her off and brought her to Aphidnae.[2] But when Theseus was in Hades, Pollux and Castor marched against Aphidnae, took the city, got possession of Helen, and led Aethra, the

[1] With this variant story of the birth of Helen compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 88 (who may have followed Apollodorus); Eratosthenes, *Catast.* 25; Pausanias, i. 33. 7 *sq.*; Scholiast on Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis*, 232; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 8. According to Eratosthenes and the Scholiast on Callimachus (*ll. cc.*), the meeting between Zeus and Nemesis, in the shape respectively of a swan and a goose, took place at Rhamnus in Attica, where Nemesis had a famous sanctuary, the marble ruins of which may still be seen in a beautiful situation beside the sea. The statue of the goddess at Rhamnus was wrought by the hand of Phidias, and on the base he represented Leda bringing the youthful Helen to her mother Nemesis. In modern times some of these marble reliefs have been found on the spot, but they are too fragmentary to admit of being identified. See Pausanias, i. 33. 2–8, with my commentary, vol. ii. pp. 455 *sqq.*

[2] As to the captivity of Helen at Aphidnae, and her rescue by her brothers Castor and Pollux, see Apollodorus, *Epitome*, i. 23; Herodotus, ix. 73; Strabo, ix. 1. 17, p. 396; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 63. 2–5; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 31 *sq.*; Pausanias, i. 17. 5, i. 41. 3, ii. 22. 6, iii. 18. 4 *sq.*, compare v. 19. 3; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 503; Hyginus, *Fab* 79. The story was told by the historian Hellanicus (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* iii. 144), and in part by the poet Alcman (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* iii. 242).

8 ἄγουσιν αἰχμάλωτον. παρεγένοντο δὲ εἰς Σπάρτην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλένης γάμον οἱ βασιλεύοντες Ἑλλάδος. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ μνηστευόμενοι οἵδε· Ὀδυσσεὺς Λαέρτου, Διομήδης Τυδέως, Ἀντίλοχος Νέστορος, Ἀγαπήνωρ Ἀγκαίου, Σθένελος Καπανέως, Ἀμφίμαχος[1] Κτεάτου, Θάλπιος Εὐρύτου, Μέγης Φυλέως, Ἀμφίλοχος Ἀμφιαράου, Μενεσθεὺς Πετεώ, Σχεδίος <καὶ> Ἐπίστροφος <Ἰφίτου>,[2] Πολύξενος Ἀγασθένους, Πηνέλεως <Ἱππαλκίμου>, Λήιτος <Ἀλέκτορος>,[3] Αἴας Ὀιλέως, Ἀσκάλαφος καὶ Ἰάλμενος Ἄρεος, Ἐλεφήνωρ Χαλκώδοντος, Εὔμηλος Ἀδμήτου, Πολυποίτης Πειρίθου, Λεοντεὺς Κορώνου, Ποδαλείριος καὶ Μαχάων Ἀσκληπιοῦ, Φιλοκτήτης Ποίαντος, Εὐρύπυλος Εὐαίμονος, Πρωτεσίλαος Ἰφίκλου, Μενέλαος Ἀτρέως, Αἴας καὶ Τεῦκρος Τελαμῶνος,

[1] Ἀμφίμαχος Heyne: ἀμφίλοχος SA. The name Ἀμφίλοχος occurs below.

[2] Σχεδίος <καὶ> Ἐπίστροφος <Ἰφίτου> Palmer, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: Σχεδίου Ἐπιστρόφου A.

[3] Πηνέλεως <Ἱππαλκίμου καὶ> Λήιτος <Ἀλεκτρυόνος> Heyne: Πηνέλεως <Ἱππαλκίμου>, Λήιτος <Ἀλέκτορος> Bekker.

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[1] For another list of the suitors of Helen, see Hyginus, *Fab.* 81. Hesiod in his *Catalogues* gave a list of the suitors of Helen, and of this list considerable fragments have been discovered in recent years. They include the names of Menelaus, the two sons of Amphiaraus (Alcmaeon and Amphilochus), Ulysses, Podarces, son of Iphiclus, Protesilaus, son of Actor, <Menestheus>, son of Peteos, Ajax of Salamis, Elephenor, son of Chalcodon, and Idomeneus, son of Minos. Thus the list only partially agrees with that of Apollodorus, for it comprises the names of Podarces and Idomeneus, which are omitted by Apollodorus, who also mentions only one son of Amphiaraus, namely Amphilochus. Hyginus

mother of Theseus, away captive. Now the kings of Greece repaired to Sparta to win the hand of Helen. The wooers were these:[1]—Ulysses, son of Laertes; Diomedes, son of Tydeus; Antilochus, son of Nestor; Agapenor, son of Ancaeus; Sthenelus, son of Capaneus; Amphimachus, son of Cteatus; Thalpius, son of Eurytus; Meges, son of Phyleus; Amphilochus, son of Amphiaraus; Menestheus, son of Peteos; Schedius and Epistrophus, sons of Iphitus; Polyxenus, son of Agasthenes; Peneleos, son of Hippalcimus; Leitus, son of Alector; Ajax, son of Oileus; Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, sons of Ares; Elephenor, son of Chalcodon; Eumelus, son of Admetus; Polypoetes, son of Pirithous; Leonteus, son of Coronus; Podalirius and Machaon, sons of Aesculapius; Philoctetes, son of Poeas; Eurypylus, son of Evaemon; Protesilaus, son of Iphiclus; Menelaus, son of Atreus; Ajax and Teucer, sons of

includes Idomeneus, but not Podarces, nor the sons of Amphiaraus. In these recently discovered fragments Hesiod does not confine himself to a bare list of names; he contrives to hit off the different characters of the suitors by describing the different manners of their wooing. Thus the canny and thrifty Ulysses brought no wedding presents, because he was quite sure he had no chance of winning the lady. On the other hand, the bold Ajax was extremely liberal with his offer of other people's property; he promised to give magnificent presents in the shape of sheep and oxen which he proposed to lift from the neighbouring coasts and islands. Idomeneus sent nobody to woo the lady, but came himself, trusting apparently to the strength of his personal attractions to win her heart and carry her home with him a blooming bride. See *Griechische Dichterfragmente*, i., *Epische und elegische Fragmente*, bearbeitet von W. Schubart und U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (Berlin, 1907), pp. 28 *sqq.* (*Berliner Klassikertexte*, v. 1); *Hesiod*, ed. H. G. Evelyn-White (London, 1914), pp. 192 *sqq.* (*The Loeb Classical Library*).

9 Πάτροκλος Μενοιτίου. τούτων ὁρῶν τὸ πλῆθος Τυνδάρεως ἐδεδοίκει μὴ <προ>κριθέντος[1] ἑνὸς στασιάσωσιν οἱ λοιποί. ὑποσχομένου δὲ Ὀδυσσέως, ἐὰν συλλάβηται πρὸς τὸν Ἠνελόπης αὐτῷ γάμον, ὑποθήσεσθαι τρόπον τινὰ δι' οὗ μηδεμία γενήσεται στάσις, ὡς ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ συλλήψεσθαι ὁ Τυνδάρεως, πάντας εἶπεν ἐξορκίσαι τοὺς μνηστῆρας βοηθήσειν, ἐὰν ὁ προκριθεὶς νυμφίος ὑπὸ ἄλλου τινὸς ἀδικῆται περὶ τὸν γάμον. ἀκούσας δὲ τοῦτο Τυνδάρεως τοὺς μνηστῆρας ἐξορκίζει, καὶ Μενέλαον μὲν αὐτὸς αἱρεῖται νυμφίον, Ὀδυσσεῖ δὲ παρὰ Ἰκαρίου μνηστεύεται Ἠνελόπην.

XI. Μενέλαος μὲν οὖν ἐξ Ἑλένης Ἑρμιόνην ἐγέννησε καὶ κατά τινας Νικόστρατον, ἐκ δούλης <δὲ>[2] Πιερίδος, γένος Αἰτωλίδος, ἣ καθάπερ

[1] <προ>κριθέντος Faber, Heyne, Hercher: κριθέντος SA, Westermann, Muller, Bekker, Wagner. Compare ὁ προκριθεὶς a few lines below.

[2] δὲ inserted by Westermann, accepted by Bekker, Hercher, Wagner.

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[1] Compare Hesiod, in *Epische und elegische Fragmente*, ed. W. Schubart und U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, p. 33; Hesiod, ed. H. G. Evelyn White, p. 198; Euripides, *Iphig. in Aulis*, 57 *sqq.*; Thucydides, i. 9; Pausanias, iii. 20. 9; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 339; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 202. According to Pausanias (*l.c.*) the suitors took the oath standing on the severed pieces of a horse. As to the custom of standing on the pieces of a sacrificial victim or passing between them at the making of solemn covenants, see *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 392 *sqq.*

[2] Homer definitely affirms (*Od.* iv. 12–14; compare *Il.* iii. 174 *sq.*) that Helen had only one child, her daughter Hermione. But according to Hesiod, whose verses are quoted by the Scholiast on Sophocles, *Electra*, 539, Helen afterwards bore a son Nicostratus to Menelaus. Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* iv. 11, who tells us further that according to

Telamon; Patroclus, son of Menoetius. Seeing the multitude of them, Tyndareus feared that the preference of one might set the others quarrelling; but Ulysses promised that, if he would help him to win the hand of Penelope, he would suggest a way by which there would be no quarrel. And when Tyndareus promised to help him, Ulysses told him to exact an oath from all the suitors that they would defend the favoured bridegroom against any wrong that might be done him in respect of his marriage. On hearing that, Tyndareus put the suitors on their oath,[1] and while he chose Menelaus to be the bridegroom of Helen, he solicited Icarius to bestow Penelope on Ulysses.

XI. Now Menelaus had by Helen a daughter Hermione and, according to some, a son Nicostratus;[2] and by a female slave Pieris, an Aetolian,

more recent writers Helen had a son Corythus or Helenus by Alexander (Paris). According to Dictys Cretensis (*Bell. Trojan.* v 5), Helen had three sons by Alexander, namely, Bunomus, Corythus, and Idaeus, who were accidentally killed at Troy through the collapse of a vaulted roof. The Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* iii. 175, says that the Lacedaemonians worshipped two sons of Helen, to wit, Nicostratus and Aethiolas. He further mentions, on the authority of Ariaethus, that Helen had by Menelaus a son Maraphius, from whom the Persian family of the Maraphions was descended. See Dindorf's edition of the Scholia on the *Iliad*, vol. i. pp. 147 *sq.*, vol. iii. p. 171. According to one account, Helen had a daughter by Theseus before she was married to Menelaus; this daughter was Iphigenia; Helen entrusted her to her sister Clytaemnestra, who reared the child and passed her off on her husband Agamemnon as her own offspring. This account of the parentage of Iphigenia was supported by the authority of Stesichorus and other poets. See Pausanias, ii. 22. 6 *sq.*; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 27. Sophocles represents Menelaus as having two children before he sailed for Troy (*Electra*, 539 *sq.*).

Ἀκουσίλαός φησι Τηριδος, Μεγαπένθη, ἐκ Κνωσσίας δὲ νύμφης κατὰ Εὔμηλον Ξενόδαμον.

2 Τῶν δὲ ἐκ Λήδας γενομένων παίδων Κάστωρ μὲν ἵππευε τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον, Πολυδεύκης δὲ πυγμήν, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἐκλήθησαν ἀμφότεροι Διόσκουροι. βουλόμενοι δὲ γῆμαι τὰς Λευκίππου θυγατέρας ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἁρπάσαντες ἔγημαν· καὶ γίνεται μὲν Πολυδεύκους καὶ Φοίβης

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[1] Compare Homer, *Od.* iv. 10–12.

[2] Compare Homer, *Il.* iii. 237; *Od.* xi. 300.

[3] That is, "striplings of Zeus."

[4] The usual tradition seems to have been that Idas and Lynceus, the sons of Aphareus, were engaged to be married to the daughters of Leucippus, who were their cousins, since Aphareus and Leucippus were brothers (see above, iii. 10. 3). They invited to their wedding Castor and Pollux, who were cousins both to the bridegrooms and the brides, since Tyndareus the human father of Castor and Pollux (see above, iii. 10. 7), was a brother of Aphareus and Leucippus (see above, iii. 10. 3). But at the wedding Castor and Pollux carried off the brides, and being pursued by the bridegrooms, Idas and Lynceus, they turned on their pursuers. In the fight which ensued, Castor and Lynceus were slain, and Idas was killed by Zeus with a thunderbolt. See Theocritus, xxii. 137 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* iii. 243; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* x. 60 (112); Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 546; *id. Chiliades*, ii. 686 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 80; Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 699 *sqq.*; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 27 (First Vatican Mythographer, 77). According to Apollodorus, however, the fight between the cousins was occasioned by a quarrel arising over the division of some cattle which they had lifted from Arcadia in a joint raid. This seems to have been the version of the story which Pindar followed; for in his description of the fatal affray between the cousins (*Nem.* x. 60 (112) *sqq.*) he speaks only of anger about cattle as the motive that led Idas to attack Castor. The rape of the daughters of Leucippus by Castor and Pollux was a favourite subject in art. See Pausanias, i. 18. 1, iii. 17. 3, iii. 18. 11, iv. 31. 9. The names of the

or, according to Acusilaus, by Tereis, he had a son Megapenthes;[1] and by a nymph Cnossia, according to Eumelus, he had a son Xenodamus.

Of the sons born to Leda Castor practised the art of war, and Pollux the art of boxing;[2] and on account of their manliness they were both called Dioscuri.[3] And wishing to marry the daughters of Leucippus, they carried them off from Messene and wedded them;[4] and Pollux had Mnesileus by Phoebe, and

damsels, as we learn from Apollodorus, were Phoebe and Hilaira. Compare Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἄφιδνα; Propertius, i. 2. 15 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 80. At Sparta they had a sanctuary, in which young maidens officiated as priestesses and were called Leucippides after the goddesses. See Pausanias, iii. 16. 1. From an obscure gloss of Hesychius (*s.v.* πωλία) we may perhaps infer that these maiden priestesses, like the goddesses, were two in number, and that they were called "the colts of the Leucippides." Further, since the name of Leucippus, the legendary father of the goddesses, means simply "White Horse," it is tempting to suppose that the Leucippides, like their priestesses, were spoken of and perhaps conceived as white horses. More than that, Castor and Pollux, who carried off these white-horse maidens, if we may call them so, were not only constantly associated with horses, but were themselves called White Horses (λευκόπωλοι) by Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 66 (126) and "White Colts of Zeus" by Euripides in a fragment of his lost play the *Antiope*. See S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte* (Leipsic, 1893), pp. 331 *sq.*; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 442. These coincidences can hardly be accidental. They point to the worship of a pair of brother deities conceived as white horses, and married to a pair of sister deities conceived as white mares, who were served by a pair of maiden priestesses called White Colts, assisted apparently by a boy priest or priests; for a Laconian inscription describes a certain youthful Marcus Aurelius Zeuxippus as "priest of the Leucippides and neatherd (? βοναγόρ) of the Tyndarids," that is, of Castor and Pollux. See P. Cauer, *Delectus Inscriptionum Graecarum propter dialectum memorabilium*², p. 17, No. 36; H. Collitz und F. Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, iii. 2, pp. 40 *sq.*, No. 4499.

Μνησίλεως, Κάστορος δὲ καὶ Ἱλαείρας Ἀνώγων. ἐλάσαντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας βοῶν λείαν μετὰ τῶν Ἀφαρέως παίδων Ἴδα καὶ Λυγκέως, ἐπιτρέπουσιν Ἴδᾳ διελεῖν·[1] ὁ δὲ τεμὼν βοῦν εἰς μέρη τέσσαρα, τοῦ πρώτου καταφαγόντος εἶπε τῆς λείας τὸ ἥμισυ ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου τὸ λοιπόν. καὶ φθάσας κατηνάλωσε τὸ μέρος τὸ ἴδιον πρῶτος[2] Ἴδας, καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου τὴν λείαν εἰς Μεσσήνην ἤλασε. στρατεύσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην οἱ Διόσκουροι τήν τε λείαν ἐκείνην καὶ πολλὴν ἄλλην συνελαύνουσι. καὶ τὸν Ἴδαν ἐλόχων καὶ τὸν Λυγκέα. Λυγκεὺς δὲ ἰδὼν Κάστορα ἐμήνυσεν Ἴδᾳ, κἀκεῖνος αὐτὸν κτείνει. Πολυδεύκης δὲ ἐδίωξεν αὐτούς, καὶ τὸν μὲν Λυγκέα κτείνει τὸ δόρυ προέμενος, τὸν δὲ Ἴδαν διώκων, βληθεὶς ὑπ' ἐκείνου πέτρᾳ κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς, πίπτει σκοτωθείς. καὶ Ζεὺς Ἴδαν κεραυνοῖ, Πολυδεύκην δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνάγει. μὴ δεχομένου δὲ Πολυδεύκους τὴν ἀθανασίαν ὄντος νεκροῦ Κάστορος, Ζεὺς ἀμφοτέροις παρ' ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν θεοῖς εἶναι καὶ ἐν θνητοῖς[3] ἔδωκε.

[1] διελεῖν Commelinus: διελθεῖν A

[2] πρωτος RR^{a}BV: πρῶτον LT. Hercher omits the word.

[3] θνητοις. Hercher conjectured νεκροῖς. Perhaps we should read τεθνηκόσιν. We can hardly suppose that Apollodorus used θνητοι in the sense in which John Wilson Croker used it and was scarified by Macaulay for so doing.

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[1] Compare Homer, *Od.* xi. 298 304; Pindar, *Nem.* x. 55 (101) *sqq.*, 75 (141) *sqq.*; *id. Pyth.* xi. 61 (93) *sqq.*; Schol. on Homer, *Od.* xi. 302; Lucian, *Dialog. deorum*, xxvi.; Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 121 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 80; *id. Astronom.* ii. 22; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 120 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 132). The last of

Castor had Anogon by Hilaira. And having driven booty of cattle from Arcadia, in company with Idas and Lynceus, sons of Aphareus, they allowed Idas to divide the spoil. He cut a cow in four and said that one half of the booty should be his who ate his share first, and that the rest should be his who ate his share second. And before they knew where they were, Idas had swallowed his own share first and likewise his brother's, and with him had driven off the captured cattle to Messene. But the Dioscuri marched against Messene, and drove away that cattle and much else besides. And they lay in wait for Idas and Lynceus. But Lynceus spied Castor and discovered him to Idas, who killed him. Pollux chased them and slew Lynceus by throwing his spear, but in pursuing Lynceus he was wounded in the head with a stone thrown by him, and fell down in a swoon. And Zeus smote Idas with a thunderbolt, but Pollux he carried up to heaven. Nevertheless, as Pollux refused to accept immortality while his brother Castor was dead, Zeus permitted them both to be every other day among the gods and among mortals.[1]

these writers explains the myth to mean that when the star of the one twin is setting, the star of the other is rising. It has been plausibly argued that in one of their aspects the twins were identified with the Morning and Evening Stars respectively, the immortal twin (Pollux) being conceived as the Morning Star, which is seen at dawn rising up in the sky till it is lost in the light of heaven, while the mortal twin (Castor) was identified with the Evening Star, which is seen at dusk sinking into its earthy bed. See J. G. Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, i. 606 *sqq.*; J. Rendel Harris, *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* (London, 1903), pp. 11 *sqq.* It would seem that this view of the Spartan twins was favoured by the Spartans themselves, for after their great naval victory of Aegospotami, at which Castor and Pollux

μεταστάντων δὲ εἰς θεοὺς τῶν Διοσκούρων, Τυνδάρεως μεταπεμψάμενος Μενέλαον εἰς Σπάρτην τούτῳ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέδωκεν.

XII. Ἠλέκτρας δὲ τῆς Ἄτλαντος καὶ Διὸς Ἰασίων καὶ Δάρδανος ἐγένοντο. Ἰασίων μὲν οὖν ἐρασθεὶς Δήμητρος καὶ θέλων καταισχῦναι τὴν θεὸν κεραννοῦται. Δάρδανος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ λυπούμενος, Σαμοθράκην ἀπολιπὼν εἰς τὴν ἀντίπερα ἤπειρον ἦλθε. ταύτης δὲ ἐβασίλευε Τεῦκρος ποταμοῦ Σκαμάνδρου καὶ νύμφης Ἰδαίας· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ οἱ τὴν χώραν νεμόμενοι Τεῦκροι προσηγορεύοντο. ὑποδεχθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ λαβὼν μέρος τῆς γῆς καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου θυγατέρα Βάτειαν, Δάρδανον ἔκτισε πόλιν· τελευτήσαντος δὲ Τεύκρου[1] τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν
2 Δαρδανίαν ἐκάλεσε. γενομένων δὲ αὐτῷ παίδων

[1] τεύκρου S : τεῦκρος A.

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were said to have appeared visibly in or hovering over the Spartan fleet, the victors dedicated at Delphi the symbols of their divine champions in the shape of two golden stars, which shortly before the fatal battle of Leuctra fell down and disappeared, as if to announce that the star of Sparta's fortune was about to set for ever. See Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 34. 75, ii. 32. 68. The same interpretation of the twins would accord well with their white horses (see the preceding note), on which the starry brethren might be thought to ride through the blue sky.

[1] This account of the parentage of Iasion had the authority of Hellanicus (Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* v. 125). Compare Diodorus Siculus, v. 48. 2.

[2] Compare Conon, *Narrat.* 21 ; Strabo, vii. p. 331, frag. 50, ed. Meineke ; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 4. A different turn is given to the story by Homer, who represents the lovers meeting in a thrice ploughed field (*Od.* v. 125-128). To the

And when the Dioscuri were translated to the gods, Tyndareus sent for Menelaus to Sparta and handed over the kingdom to him.

XII. Electra, daughter of Atlas, had two sons, Iasion and Dardanus, by Zeus.[1] Now Iasion loved Demeter, and in an attempt to defile the goddess he was killed by a thunderbolt.[2] Grieved at his brother's death, Dardanus left Samothrace and came to the opposite mainland. That country was ruled by a king, Teucer, son of the river Scamander and of a nymph Idaea, and the inhabitants of the country were called Teucrians after Teucer. Being welcomed by the king, and having received a share of the land and the king's daughter Batia, he built a city Dardanus, and when Teucer died he called the whole country Dardania.[3] And he had sons born

same effect Hesiod (*Theog.* 969 974) says that the thrice-ploughed field where they met was in a fertile district of Crete, and that Wealth was born as the fruit of their love. Compare Diodorus Siculus, v. 77. 1 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 270. The Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* v. 125, attempts to rationalize the myth by saying that Iasion was the only man who preserved seed-corn after the deluge.

[3] As to the migration of Dardanus from Samothrace to Asia and his foundation of Dardania or Dardanus, see Diodorus Siculus, v. 48. 2 *sq.*; Conon, *Narrat.* 21; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Δάρδανος; compare Homer, *Il.* xx. 215 *sqq.* According to one account he was driven from Samothrace by a flood and floated to the coast of the Troad on a raft. See Lycophron, *Cassandra*, 72 *sqq.*, with the scholia of Tzetzes; Scholia on Homer, *Il.* xx. 215. As to his marriage with Batia, daughter of Teucer, and his succession to the kingdom, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 75. 1. According to Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Δάρδανες), Batia, the wife of Dardanus, was a daughter of Tros, not of Teucer.

Ἴλου καὶ Ἐριχθονίου, Ἶλος μὲν ἄπαις ἀπέθανεν, Ἐριχθόνιος δὲ διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν, γήμας Ἀστυόχην[1] τὴν Σιμόεντος, τεκνοῖ Τρῶα. οὗτος παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν μὲν χώραν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Τροίαν ἐκάλεσε, καὶ γήμας Καλλιρρόην τὴν Σκαμάνδρου γεννᾷ θυγατέρα μὲν Κλεοπάτραν, παῖδας δὲ Ἶλον καὶ Ἀσσάρακον καὶ Γανυμήδην. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν διὰ κάλλος ἀναρπάσας Ζεὺς δι' ἀετοῦ θεῶν οἰνοχόον ἐν οὐρανῷ κατέστησεν· Ἀσσαράκου δὲ καὶ Ἱερομνήμης τῆς Σιμόεντος Κάπυς, τοῦ δὲ καὶ Θεμίστης τῆς Ἴλου Ἀγχίσης, ᾧ δι' ἐρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν Ἀφροδίτη συνελθοῦσα Αἰνείαν ἐγέννησε καὶ Λύρον, ὃς ἄπαις ἀπέθανεν.

3 Ἶλος δὲ εἰς Φρυγίαν ἀφικόμενος καὶ καταλαβὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτόθι τεθειμένον ἀγῶνα νικᾷ πάλην· καὶ λαβὼν ἆθλον πεντήκοντα κόρους[2] καὶ κόρας τὰς ἴσας, δόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως κατὰ χρησμὸν καὶ βοῦν ποικίλην, καὶ φράσαντος

[1] Ἀστυόχην SR[a]: ἀστρόχην A.
[2] κόρους S: κούρους A.

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[1] Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 29. As to Erichthonius, son of Dardanus, see Homer, *Il.* xx. 219 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 75. 2. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquit. Rom.*, i. 50. 3) the names of the two sons whom Dardanus had by his wife Batia were Erichthonius and Zacynthus.

[2] Compare Homer, *Il.* xx. 230, who does not mention th mother of Tros. She is named Astyoche, daughter of Simoeis, by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 29) in agreement with Apollodorus.

[3] Compare Homer, *Il.* xx. 231 *sq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 75. 3. The name of the wife of Tros is not mentioned by Homer and Diodorus. She is called Callirrhoe, daughter of Scamander, by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 29) and the

to him, Ilus and Erichthonius, of whom Ilus died childless,[1] and Erichthonius succeeded to the kingdom and marrying Astyoche, daughter of Simoeis, begat Tros.[2] On succeeding to the kingdom, Tros called the country Troy after himself, and marrying Callirrhoe, daughter of Scamander, he begat a daughter Cleopatra, and sons, Ilus, Assaracus, and Ganymede.[3] This Ganymede, for the sake of his beauty, Zeus caught up on an eagle and appointed him cupbearer of the gods in heaven ;[4] and Assaracus had by his wife Hieromneme, daughter of Simoeis, a son Capys ; and Capys had by his wife Themiste, daughter of Ilus, a son Anchises, whom Aphrodite met in love's dalliance, and to whom she bore Aeneas[5] and Lyrus, who died childless. But Ilus went to Phrygia, and finding games held there by the king, he was victorious in wrestling. As a prize he received fifty youths and as many maidens, and the king, in obedience to an oracle, gave him also a dappled

Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xx. 231, who refers to Hellanicus as his authority. See *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem Townleyana*, ed. E. Maass, vol. ii. p. 321.

[4] Compare Homer, *Il.* xx. 232–235 ; *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, 202 *sqq.* These early versions of the myth do not mention the eagle as the agent which transported Ganymede to heaven. The bird figures conspicuously in later versions of the myth and its representation in art. Compare Lucian, *Dialog. deorum*, iv. 1 ; Virgil, *Aen.* v. 252 *sqq.* ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 155 *sqq.* ; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 56, 139, 162, 256 (First Vatican Mythographer, 184, Second Vatican Mythographer, 198, Third Vatican Mythographer, 3. 5 and 15. 11).

[5] Compare Homer, *Il.* xx. 239 *sq.* ; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 75. 5. Neither writer names the wives of Assaracus and Capys. As to the love of Aphrodite for Anchises, and the birth of Aeneas, see Homer, *Il.* ii. 819–821, v. 311–313 ; Hesiod, *Theog.* 1008–1010.

ἐν ᾧπερ ἂν αὐτὴ κλιθῇ τόπῳ πόλιν κτίζειν, εἵπετο τῇ βοΐ. ἡ δὲ ἀφικομένη ἐπὶ τὸν λεγόμενον τῆς Φρυγίας Ἄτης λόφον κλίνεται· ἔνθα πόλιν κτίσας Ἶλος ταύτην μὲν Ἴλιον ἐκάλεσε, τῷ δὲ Διὶ σημεῖον εὐξάμενος αὐτῷ τι φανῆναι, μεθ' ἡμέραν τὸ διιπετὲς παλλάδιον πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς κείμενον ἐθεάσατο. ἦν δὲ τῷ μεγέθει τρίπηχυ, τοῖς δὲ ποσὶ συμβεβηκός, καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ δόρυ διηρμένον[1] ἔχον τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ ἠλακάτην καὶ ἄτρακτον.

[1] διηρμένον Heyne : διηρτημένον A, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 355.

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[1] This legend of the foundation of Ilium by Ilus is repeated by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 29. The site of Thebes is said to have been chosen in obedience to a similar oracle. See above, iii. 4. 1. Homer tells us (*Il.* xx. 215 *sqq.*) that the foundation of Dardania on Mount Ida preceded the foundation of Ilium in the plain. As to the hill of Ate, compare Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἴλιον.

[2] As to the antique image of Pallas, known as the Palladium, see Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 68 *sq.*, ii. 66. 5; Conon, *Narrationes*, 34; Pausanias, i. 28. 9, ii. 23. 5; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iv. 47, p. 42, ed. Potter; J. Malalas, *Chronogr.* v. pp. 108 *sq.*, ed. L. Dindorf; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 355; Suidas, *s.v.* Παλλάδιον; *Etymologicum Magnum*, *s.v.* Παλλάδιον, p. 649. 50; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* vi. 311; Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 162 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 417–436; *id. Metamorph.* xiii. 337–349; Silius Italicus, *Punic.* xiii. 39 *sqq.*; Dictys Cretensis, *Bell. Trojan.* v. 5; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 166; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 14 *sq.*, 45 (First Vatican Mythographer, 40 and 142). The traditions concerning the Palladium which have come down to us are all comparatively late, and they differ from each other on various points; but the most commonly received account seems to have been that the image was a small wooden one, that it had fallen from heaven, and that so long as it remained in Troy the city could not be taken. The Greek tradition was

cow and bade him found a city wherever the animal should lie down; so he followed the cow. And when she was come to what was called the hill of the Phrygian Ate, she lay down; there Ilus built a city and called it Ilium.[1] And having prayed to Zeus that a sign might be shown to him, he beheld by day the Palladium, fallen from heaven, lying before his tent. It was three cubits in height, its feet joined together; in its right hand it held a spear aloft, and in the other hand a distaff and spindle.[2]

that the Palladium was stolen and carried off to the Greek camp by Ulysses and Diomedes (see Apollodorus, *Epitome*, v. 10 and 13), and that its capture by the Greeks ensured the fall of Troy. The Roman tradition was that the image remained in Troy till the city was taken by the Greeks, when Aeneas succeeded in rescuing it and conveying it away with him to Italy, where it was finally deposited in the temple of Vesta at Rome. These two traditions are clearly inconsistent with each other, and the Roman tradition further conflicts with the belief that the city which possessed the sacred image could not be captured by an enemy. Hence in order to maintain the genuineness of the image in the temple of Vesta, patriotic Roman antiquaries were driven to various expedients. They said, for example, that an exact copy of the Palladium had been publicly exposed at Troy, while the true one was carefully concealed in a sanctuary, and that the unsuspicious Greeks had pounced on the spurious image, while the knowing Aeneas smuggled away the genuine one packed up with the rest of his sacred luggage (Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 68 *sq.*). Or they affirmed that the thief Diomedes had been constrained to restore the stolen image to its proper owners (First Vatican Mythographer, *ll.cc.*); or that, warned by Athena in a dream, he afterwards made it over to Aeneas in Italy (Silius Italicus, *l.c.*) But the Romans were not the only people who claimed to possess the true Palladium; the Argives maintained that it was with them (Pausanias, ii. 23. 5), and the Athenians asserted that it was to be seen in their ancient court of justice which bore the very name of Palladium. See Pausanias, i. 28. 8 *sq.*; Harpocration, *s.vv.*

Ἱστορία δὲ[1] ἡ περὶ τοῦ παλλαδίου τοιάδε φέρεται· φασὶ γεννηθεῖσαν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν παρὰ Τρίτωνι τρέφεσθαι, ᾧ θυγάτηρ ἦν Παλλάς· ἀμφοτέρας δὲ ἀσκούσας τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον εἰς φιλονεικίαν ποτὲ προελθεῖν. μελλούσης δὲ πλήττειν τῆς Παλλάδος τὸν Δία φοβηθέντα τὴν αἰγίδα προτεῖναι,[2] τὴν δὲ εὐλαβηθεῖσαν ἀναβλέψαι, καὶ οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τρωθεῖσαν πεσεῖν. Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ περίλυπον ἐπ' αὐτῇ γενομένην, ξόανον ἐκείνης ὅμοιον κατασκευάσαι,[3] καὶ περιθεῖναι τοῖς στέρνοις ἣν ἔδεισεν αἰγίδα, καὶ τιμᾶν ἱδρυσαμένην παρὰ τῷ Διί. ὕστερον δὲ Ἠλέκτρας κατὰ[4] τὴν φθορὰν τούτῳ προσφυγούσης, Δία ῥῖψαι[5] [μετ' Ἄτης

[1] Heyne thought that the whole of this paragraph, relating to the Palladium, has been interpolated from an ancient author. It is omitted from the text by Hercher and bracketed as spurious by Wagner.

[2] προτεῖναι Faber: προθεῖναι R: προσθεῖναι R^a: προσθῆναι A.

[3] κατασκευάσαι R: κατασκευάσασα A.

[4] κατὰ SA: μετὰ Bekker.

[5] Δία ῥῖψαι Gale, Bekker, Wagner: διαρρῖψαι SA, Tzetzes *Schol. on Lycophron*, 355, Heyne, Westermann, Muller.

βουλεύσεως and ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ; Suidas, *s.v.* ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ; Julius Pollux, viii. 118 *sq.*; Scholiast on Aeschines, ii. 87, p. 298, ed Schultz; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, i. p 311, lines 3 *sqq.* The most exact description of the appearance of the Palladium is the one given by Apollodorus in the present passage, which is quoted, with the author's name, by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 355). According to Dictys Cretensis (*l.c.*), the image fell from heaven at the time when Ilus was building the temple of Athena; the structure was nearly completed, but the roof was not yet on, so the Palladium dropped straight into its proper place in the sacred edifice. Clement of Alexandria (*l.c.*) mentions a strange opinion that the Palladium "was made out of the bones of Pelops, just as the Olympian (image of Zeus was made) out

The story told about the Palladium is as follows:[1] They say that when Athena was born she was brought up by Triton,[2] who had a daughter Pallas; and that both girls practised the arts of war, but that once on a time they fell out; and when Pallas was about to strike a blow, Zeus in fear interposed the aegis, and Pallas, being startled, looked up, and so fell wounded by Athena. And being exceedingly grieved for her, Athena made a wooden image in her likeness, and wrapped the aegis, which she had feared, about the breast of it, and set it up beside Zeus and honoured it. But afterwards Electra, at the time of her violation,[3] took refuge at the image, and Zeus threw the Palladium along with Ate[4] into the Ilian

of other bones of an Indian beast," that is, out of ivory. Pherecydes discussed the subject of *palladia* in general; he described them as "shapes not made with hands," and derived the name from πάλλειν, which he considered to be equivalent to βάλλειν, "to throw, cast," because these objects were cast down from heaven. See Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 355; *Etymologicum Magnum*, *s.v.* Παλλάδιον, p. 649. 50. Apollodorus as usual confines himself to the Greek tradition; he completely ignores the Romans and their claim to possess the Palladium.

[1] The following account of the origin of the Palladium was regarded as an interpolation by Heyne, and his view has been accepted by Hercher and Wagner. But the passage was known to Tzetzes, who quotes it (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 355) immediately after his description of the image, which he expressly borrowed from Apollodorus.

[2] Apparently the god of the river Triton, which was commonly supposed to be in Libya, though some people identified it with a small stream in Boeotia. See Herodotus, iv. 180; Pausanias, ix. 33. 7; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 519; compare Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 109.

[3] See above, iii. 12. 1.

[4] Homer tells (*Il.* xix. 126-131) how Zeus in anger swore that Ate should never again come to Olympus, and how he seized her by the head and flung her from heaven.

καὶ][1] τὸ παλλάδιον εἰς τὴν Ἰλιάδα χώραν, Ἶλον δὲ τούτῳ[2] ναὸν κατασκευάσαντα τιμᾶν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ παλλαδίου ταῦτα λέγεται.

Ἶλος δὲ γήμας Εὐρυδίκην τὴν Ἀδράστου Λαομέδοντα ἐγέννησεν, ὃς γαμεῖ Στρυμὼ τὴν Σκαμάνδρου, κατὰ δέ τινας Ἠλακίαν τὴν Ὀτρέως,[3] κατ' ἐνίους δὲ Λευκίππην,[4] καὶ τεκνοῖ παῖδας μὲν Τιθωνὸν Λάμπον[5] Κλυτίον Ἱκετάονα Ποδάρκην, θυγατέρας δὲ Ἡσιόνην καὶ Κίλλαν καὶ Ἀστυόχην, ἐκ δὲ νύμφης Καλυδνης Βουκολίωνα.

4 Τιθωνὸν μὲν οὖν Ἠὼς ἁρπάσασα δι' ἔρωτα εἰς
5 Αἰθιοπίαν κομίζει, κἀκεῖ συνελθοῦσα γεννᾷ παῖδας Ἡμαθίωνα καὶ Μέμνονα. μετὰ δὲ τὸ αἱρεθῆναι

[1] μετ' Ἄτης καί. Heyne was probably right in regarding these words as an interpolation introduced by a scribe who remembered that Ate was flung from heaven by Zeus (Homer, *Il.* xix. 131 *sq.*). For Ἄτης, which is a conjecture of Gale's, the MSS. SA) read αὐτῆς, which is retained by Muller, Bekker, and Wagner. The words μετ' αὐτῆς καί are not bracketed by Wagner.

[2] τούτῳ S: τούτου A. Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 355: τοῦτο Heyne.

[3] Ὀτρέως Hercher: ἀτρέως A.

[4] Λευκίππην Heyne (conjecture), Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: Λευκίππου A, Heyne (in text), Westermann, Müller. The reading Λευκίππην is supported by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 18, who says that the mother of Priam (Podarces) was Leucippe.

[5] Λάμπον R, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner (compare Homer, *Il.* iii. 147, xix. 238): λάμπωνα A, Westermann, Muller.

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[1] Compare Homer, *Il.* xx. 236. Homer does not mention the mother of Laomedon. According to one Scholiast on the passage she was Eurydice, daughter of Adrastus, as Apollodorus has it; according to another she was Batia, daughter of Teucer. But if the family tree recorded by Apollodorus is correct, Batia could hardly have been the wife of Ilus, since she was his great-grandmother.

country; and Ilus built a temple for it, and honoured it. Such is the legend of the Palladium.

And Ilus married Eurydice, daughter of Adrastus, and begat Laomedon,[1] who married Strymo, daughter of Scamander; but according to some his wife was Placia, daughter of Otreus, and according to others she was Leucippe; and he begat five sons, Tithonus, Lampus, Clytius, Hicetaon, Podarces,[2] and three daughters, Hesione, Cilla, and Astyoche; and by a nymph Calybe he had a son Bucolion.[3]

Now the Dawn snatched away Tithonus for love and brought him to Ethiopia, and there consorting with him she bore two sons, Emathion and Memnon.[4]

[2] Compare Homer, *Il.* xx. 237 *sq.*, with whom Apollodorus agrees as to Laomedon's five sons. Homer does not mention Laomedon's wife nor his daughters. According to a Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* iii. 250, his wife's name was Zeuxippe or Strymo; for the former name he cites the authority of the poet Alcman, for the latter the authority of the historian Hellanicus. Apollodorus may have followed Hellanicus, though he was acquainted with other traditions. According to Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 18), Priam and Tithonus were sons of Laomedon by different mothers; the mother of Priam was Leucippe, the mother of Tithonus was Strymo or Rhoeo, daughter of Scamander. The Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xi. 1, speaks of Tithonus as a son of Laomedon by Strymo, daughter of Scamander.

[3] Compare Homer, *Il.* vi. 23 *sqq.*, who says that Bucolion was the eldest son of Laomedon, but illegitimate and one of twins.

[4] As to the love of Dawn (*Eos*) for Tithonus, see the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, 218 *sqq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 18; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xi. 1; Propertius, ii. 18. 7 18, ed. Butler. Homer speaks of Dawn (Aurora) rising from the bed of Tithonus (*Il.* xi. 1 *sq.*; *Od.* v. 1 *sq.*). According to the author of the Homeric hymn, Dawn obtained from Zeus for her lover the boon of immortality; according to the Scholiast on Homer, it was Tithonus himself who asked and

Ἴλιον ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους, ὡς μικρον πρόσθεν ἡμῖν λέλεκται, ἐβασίλευσε Ποδάρκης ὁ κληθεὶς Πρίαμος· καὶ γαμεῖ πρώτην Ἀρίσβην τὴν Μέροπος, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ παῖς Ἄῖσακος γίνεται, ὃς ἔγημεν Ἀστερόπην[1] τὴν Κεβρῆνος θυγατέρα, ἣν πενθῶν ἀποθανοῦσαν ἀπωρνεώθη. Πρίαμος δὲ Ἀρίσβην ἐκδοὺς Ὑρτάκῳ δευτέραν ἔγημεν Ἑκάβην τὴν Δύμαντος, ἢ ὡς τινές φασι Κισσέως, ἢ ὡς ἕτεροι λέγουσι Σαγγαρίου ποταμοῦ καὶ Μετώπης. γενναται δὲ αὐτῇ[2] πρῶτος μὲν Ἕκτωρ· δευτέρου δὲ

[1] Ἀστερόπην Commelinus: στερόπην SA.

[2] αὐτῇ A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher: αὐτῷ S. Wagner.

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obtained the boon from the loving goddess. But the boon turned to be a bane: for neither he nor she had remembered to ask for freedom from the infirmities of age. So when he was old and white-headed and could not stir hand or foot, he prayed for death as a release from his sufferings; but die he could not, for he was immortal. Hence the goddess in pity either shut him up in his chamber and closed the shining doors on him, leaving him to lisp and babble there eternally, or she turned him into a grasshopper, the most musical of insects, that she might have the joy of hearing her lover's voice sounding for ever in her ears. The former and sadder fate is vouched for by the hymn writer, the latter by the Scholiast. Tzetzes perhaps lets us into the secret of the transformation when he tells us (*l.c.*) that "the grasshoppers, like the snakes, when they are old, slough their old age" (τὸ γῆρας, literally "old age," but applied by the Greeks to the cast skins of serpents). It is a widespread notion among savages, which the ancestors of the Greeks apparently shared, that creatures which cast their skins, thereby renew their youth and live for ever. See *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 66 *sqq.* The ancient Latins seem also to have cherished the same illusion, for they applied the same name (*senecta* or *senectus*) to old age and to the cast skins of serpents.

[1] See above, ii. 6. 4.

But after that Ilium was captured by Hercules, as we have related a little before,[1] Podarces, who was called Priam, came to the throne, and he married first Arisbe, daughter of Merops, by whom he had a son Aesacus, who married Asterope, daughter of Cebren, and when she died he mourned for her and was turned into a bird.[2] But Priam handed over Arisbe to Hyrtacus and married a second wife Hecuba, daughter of Dymas, or, as some say, of Cisseus, or, as others say, of the river Sangarius and Metope.[3] The first son born to her was Hector; and when a second

[2] Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 224, who seems to follow Apollodorus. The bird into which the mourner was transformed appears to have been a species of diver. See Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 749–795; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 254, v. 128.

[3] According to Homer (*Il.* xvi. 718 *sq.*) Hecuba was a daughter of Dymas, "who dwelt in Phrygia by the streams of Sangarius." But Euripides (*Hecuba*, 3) represents her as a daughter of Cisseus, and herein he is followed by Virgil, (*Aen.* vii. 320, x. 705). The mythographers Hyginus and Tzetzes leave it an open question whether Hecuba was a daughter of Cisseus or of Dymas. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 91, 111, 249; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, *Introd.* p. 266, ed. Müller. Compare the Scholiast on Euripides, *Hecuba*, 3: "Pherecydes writes thus: And Priam, son of Laomedon, marries Hecuba, daughter of Dymas, son of Eioneus, son of Proteus, or of the river Sangarius, by a Naiad nymph Evagora. But some have recorded that Hecuba's mother was Glaucippe, daughter of Xanthus. But Nicander, in agreement with Euripides, says that Hecuba was a daughter of Cisseus." The Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 718, says that according to Pherecydes the father of Hecuba was Dymas and her mother was a nymph Eunoe, but that according to Athenion her father was Cisseus and her mother Telecleia. Thus it would appear that after all we cannot answer with any confidence the question with which the emperor Tiberius loved to pose the grammarians of his time, "Who was Hecuba's mother?" See Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 70.

γεννᾶσθαι μέλλοντος βρέφους ἔδοξεν Ἑκάβη καθ' ὕπνους[1] δαλὸν τεκεῖν διάπυρον, τοῦτον δὲ πᾶσαν ἐπινέμεσθαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ καίειν. μαθὼν δὲ Πρίαμος παρ' Ἑκάβης τὸν ὄνειρον, Αἴσακον τὸν υἱὸν μετεπέμψατο·[2] ἦν γὰρ ὀνειροκρίτης παρὰ τοῦ μητροπάτορος Μέροπος διδαχθείς. οὗτος εἰπὼν τῆς πατρίδος γενέσθαι τὸν παῖδα ἀπώλειαν, ἐκθεῖναι τὸ βρέφος ἐκέλευε. Πρίαμος δέ, ὡς ἐγεννήθη τὸ βρέφος, δίδωσιν ἐκθεῖναι οἰκέτῃ κομίσαντι[3] εἰς Ἴδην· ὁ δὲ οἰκέτης Ἀγέλαος ὠνομάζετο. τὸ δὲ ἐκτεθὲν ὑπὸ τούτου βρέφος πέντ' ἡμέρας ὑπὸ ἄρκτου[4] ἐτράφη. ὁ δὲ σωζόμενον εὑρὼν ἀναιρεῖται, καὶ κομίσας ἐπὶ τῶν χωρίων ὡς ἴδιον παῖδα ἔτρεφεν, ὀνομάσας Πάριν. γενόμενος δὲ νεανίσκος καὶ πολλῶν διαφέρων καλλεί τε καὶ ῥώμῃ αὖθις Ἀλέξανδρος προσωνομάσθη, λῃστὰς ἀμυνόμενος[5] καὶ τοῖς ποιμνίοις ἀλεξήσας [, ὅπερ ἐστὶ βοηθήσας].[6] καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τοὺς γονέας ἀνεῦρε.

Μετὰ τοῦτον ἐγέννησεν Ἑκάβη θυγατέρας μὲν

[1] καθ' ὕπνους SR : καθ' ὕπαρ A.
[2] μετεπέμψατο S : κατεπέμψατο A.
[3] κομίσαντι SA, Wagner : κομίσοντι Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker : κομιοῦντι Hercher.
[4] ἄρκτου SR : ἄρτου A.
[5] ἀμυνόμενος SA, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Wagner : ἀμυνάμενος Hercher.
[6] ὅπερ ἐστὶ βοηθήσας omitted as a gloss by Hercher and Wagner.

[1] For Hecuba's dream and the exposure of the infant Paris, see Pindar, pp. 544, 546, ed. Sandys ; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* iii. 325 ; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 86 ; Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 21. 42 ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 91 ; *Scrip-*

babe was about to be born Hecuba dreamed she had brought forth a firebrand, and that the fire spread over the whole city and burned it.[1] When Priam learned of the dream from Hecuba, he sent for his son Aesacus, for he was an interpreter of dreams, having been taught by his mother's father Merops. He declared that the child was begotten to be the ruin of his country and advised that the babe should be exposed. When the babe was born Priam gave it to a servant to take and expose on Ida; now the servant was named Agelaus. Exposed by him, the infant was nursed for five days by a bear; and, when he found it safe, he took it up, carried it away, brought it up as his own son on his farm, and named him Paris. When he grew to be a young man, Paris excelled many in beauty and strength, and was afterwards surnamed Alexander, because he repelled robbers and defended the flocks.[2] And not long afterwards he discovered his parents.

After him Hecuba gave birth to daughters, Creusa,

tores rerum mythicarum Latini, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 139 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 197). The dream is alluded to, though not expressly mentioned, by Euripides (*Troades*, 919 *sqq.*) and Virgil (*Aen.* vii. 319 *sqq.*). The warning given by the diviner Aesacus is recorded also by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 224), according to whom the sage advised to put both mother and child to death. Euripides (*Andromache*, 293 *sqq.*) represents Cassandra shrieking in a prophetic frenzy to kill the ill-omened babe. The suckling of the infant Paris for five days by a she-bear seems to be mentioned only by Apollodorus.

[2] Apollodorus apparently derives the name Alexander from ἀλέξω "to defend" and ἀνδρός, the genitive of "man." As the verb was somewhat archaic, he explains it by the more familiar βοηθῶ, if indeed the explanation be not a marginal gloss See the Critical Note.

Κρέουσαν Λαοδίκην Πολυξένην Κασάνδραν, ἣ συνελθεῖν βουλόμενος Ἀπόλλων τὴν μαντικὴν ὑπέσχετο διδάξειν. ἡ δὲ μαθοῦσα οὐ συνῆλθεν· ὅθεν Ἀπόλλων ἀφείλετο τῆς μαντικῆς αὐτῆς τὸ πείθειν. αὖθις δὲ παῖδας ἐγέννησε Δηίφοβον Ἕλενον Πάμμονα Πολίτην Ἀντίφον Ἱππόνοον Πολύδωρον Τρωίλον· τοῦτον ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος λέγεται γεγεννηκέναι.

Ἐκ δὲ ἄλλων γυναικῶν Πριάμῳ παῖδες γίνονται Μελάνιππος Γοργυθίων Φιλαίμων Ἱππόθους Γλαῦκος, Ἀγάθων Χερσιδάμας Εὐαγόρας Ἱπποδάμας Μήστωρ, Ἄτας Δόρυκλος Λυκάων Δρύοψ Βίας, Χρομίος Ἀστύγονος Τελέστας Εὔανδρος Κεβριόνης, Μύλιος[1] Ἀρχέμαχος Λαοδόκος Ἐχέφρων Ἰδομενεύς, Ὑπερίων Ἀσκάνιος Δημοκοων Ἄρητος Δηιοπίτης, Κλονίος Ἐλέμμων Ὑπείροχος Αἰγεωνεὺς Λυσίθοος Πολυμέδων, θυγατέρες δὲ Μέδουσα Μηδεσικάστη Λυσιμάχη Ἀριστοδίμη.

[1] Μύλιος R: αἴλιος A. Wagner compares Stephanus Byzantius, Μυλοι (Μύλισιν ed. Westermann), ἔθνος Φρυγίας. Ἑκαταῖος Ἀσίᾳ.

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[1] Laodice is mentioned by Homer as the fairest of Priam's daughters and the wife of Helicaon (*Iliad*, iii. 122 *sqq.*, vi. 252).

[2] Compare Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1202–1212; Hyginus, *Fab.* 93; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 247; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 55, 139 (First Vatican Mythographer, 180; Second Vatican Mythographer, 196). According to Servius (*l.c.*), Apollo deprived Cassandra of the power of persuading men of the truth of her prophecies by spitting into her mouth. We have seen that by a similar procedure Glaucus was robbed of the faculty of divination. See above, iii. 3. 2. An entirely different account of the way in which Cassandra and her twin brother

Laodice,[1] Polyxena, and Cassandra. Wishing to gain Cassandra's favours, Apollo promised to teach her the art of prophecy; she learned the art but refused her favours; hence Apollo deprived her prophecy of power to persuade.[2] Afterwards Hecuba bore sons,[3] Deiphobus, Helenus, Pammon, Polites, Antiphus, Hipponous, Polydorus, and Troilus: this last she is said to have had by Apollo.

By other women Priam had sons, to wit, Melanippus, Gorgythion, Philaemon, Hippothous, Glaucus, Agathon, Chersidamas, Evagoras, Hippodamas, Mestor, Atas, Doryclus, Lycaon, Dryops, Bias, Chromius, Astygonus, Telestas, Evander, Cebriones, Mylius, Archemachus, Laodocus, Echephron, Idomeneus, Hyperion, Ascanius, Democoon, Aretus, Deiopites, Clonius, Echemmon, Hypirochus, Aegeoneus, Lysithous, Polymedon; and daughters, to wit, Medusa, Medesicaste, Lysimache, and Aristodeme.

Helenus acquired the gift of prophecy is given by a Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* vii. 44. He says that when the festival in honour of the birth of the twins was being held in the sanctuary of the Thymbraean Apollo, the two children played with each other there and fell asleep in the temple. Meantime the parents and their friends, flushed with wine, had gone home, forgetting all about the twins whose birth had given occasion to the festivity. Next morning, when they were sober, they returned to the temple and found the sacred serpents purging with their tongues the organs of sense of the children. Frightened by the cry which the women raised at the strange sight, the serpents disappeared among the laurel boughs which lay beside the infants on the floor; but from that hour Cassandra and Helenus possessed the gift of prophecy. For this story the Scholiast refers to the authority of Anticlides. In like manner Melampus is said to have acquired the art of soothsaying through the action of serpents which licked his ears. See above, i. 9. 11.

[3] Compare Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 248 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 90.

6 Ἕκτωρ μὲν οὖν Ἀνδρομάχην τὴν Ἠετίωνος γαμεῖ, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ Οἰνώνην τὴν Κεβρῆνος τοῦ ποταμοῦ θυγατέρα. αὕτη παρὰ Ῥέας τὴν μαντικὴν μαθοῦσα προέλεγεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μὴ πλεῖν ἐπὶ Ἑλένην. μὴ πείθουσα δὲ εἶπεν, ἐὰν τρωθῇ, παραγενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτήν· μόνην[1] γὰρ θεραπεῦσαι δύνασθαι. τὸν δὲ Ἑλένην ἐκ Σπάρτης ἁρπάσαι, πολεμουμένης δὲ Τροίας τοξευθέντα ὑπὸ Φιλοκτήτου τόξοις Ἡρακλείοις πρὸς Οἰνώνην ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Ἴδην. ἡ δὲ μνησικακοῦσα θεραπεύειν[2] οὐκ ἔφη. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν εἰς Τροίαν κομιζόμενος ἐτελεύτα, Οἰνώνη δὲ μετανοήσασα τὰ πρὸς θεραπείαν φάρμακα ἔφερε, καὶ καταλαβοῦσα αὐτὸν νεκρὸν ἑαυτὴν ἀνήρτησεν.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος, ὡς δὲ Ἀκουσίλαος λέγει, Ἠροῦς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος, ὡς δέ τινες, Διὸς καὶ Εὐρυνόμης. τούτῳ Μετώπη γημαμένη[3] (Λάδωνος δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ θυγάτηρ αὕτη) δύο μὲν παῖδας ἐγέννησεν, Ἰσμηνὸν καὶ Πελάγοντα, εἴκοσι δὲ θυγατέρας, ὧν μὲν[4] μίαν Αἴγιναν ἥρπασε Ζεύς. ταύτην Ἀσωπὸς ζητῶν

[1] μόνην SR: μόνη A.

[2] θεραπεύσαι SR (compend.), Hercher, Wagner: θεραπεῖσαι A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

[3] τούτῳ Μετώπη γημαμένη R (compend.), Wagner: οὗτος Μετώπην γημάμενος A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker: οὗτος Μετώπην γήμας Hercher.

[4] μὲν omitted by Hercher, perhaps rightly.

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[1] See Homer, *Il.* vi. 395 *sqq.*, where it is said that Eetion was king of Thebe in Cilicia.

Now Hector married Andromache, daughter of Eetion,[1] and Alexander married Oenone, daughter of the river Cebren.[2] She had learned from Rhea the art of prophecy, and warned Alexander not to sail to fetch Helen; but failing to persuade him, she told him to come to her if he were wounded, for she alone could heal him. When he had carried off Helen from Sparta and Troy was besieged, he was shot by Philoctetes with the bow of Hercules, and went back to Oenone on Ida. But she, nursing her grievance, refused to heal him. So Alexander was carried to Troy and died. But Oenone repented her, and brought the healing drugs; and finding him dead she hanged herself.

The Asopus river was a son of Ocean and Tethys, or, as Acusilaus says, of Pero and Poseidon, or, according to some, of Zeus and Eurynome. Him Metope, herself a daughter of the river Ladon, married and bore two sons, Ismenus and Pelagon, and twenty daughters, of whom one, Aegina, was carried off by Zeus.[3] In search of her Asopus came

[2] For the loves of Paris and Oenone, and their tragic end, compare Conon, *Narrat.* 23; Parthenius, *Narrat.* 4; Ovid, *Heroides*, v.

[3] As to the river-god Asopus and his family, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 72. 1–5; Pausanias, ii. 5. 1 *sq.*, v. 22. 6. According to Diodorus, Asopus was a son of Ocean and Tethys; he married Metope, daughter of the Ladon, by whom he had two sons and twelve daughters. Asopus, the father of Aegina, is identified by Diodorus and Pausanias with the Phlasian or Sicyonian river of that name; but the patriotic Boeotian poet Pindar seems to claim the honour for the Boeotian Asopus (*Isthm.* viii. 16 (35) *sqq.*), and he is naturally supported by his Scholiast (on *v.* 17 (37) of that poem) as well as by Statius

ἦκεν εἰς Κόρινθον, καὶ μανθάνει παρὰ Σισύφου τὸν ἡρπακότα εἶναι Δία. Ζεὺς δὲ Ἀσωπὸν μὲν κεραυνώσας διώκοντα πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀπέπεμψε ῥείθρα (διὰ τοῦτο μέχρι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τῶν τούτου ῥείθρων ἄνθρακες φέρονται), Αἴγιναν δὲ κομίσας[1] εἰς τὴν τότε Οἰνώνην λεγομένην νῆσον, νῦν δὲ Αἴγιναν ἀπ' ἐκείνης κληθεῖσαν, μίγνυται, καὶ τεκνοῖ παῖδα ἐξ αὐτῆς Αἰακόν. τούτῳ Ζεὺς ὄντι μόνῳ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τοὺς μύρμηκας ἀνθρώπους ἐποίησε. γαμεῖ δὲ Αἰακὸς Ἐνδηΐδα τὴν Σκείρωνος, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ παῖδες ἐγένοντο Πηλεύς τε καὶ Τελαμών. Φερεκύδης δέ φησι Τελαμῶνα φίλον, οὐκ ἀδελφὸν Πηλέως εἶναι, ἀλλ' Ἀκταίου παῖδα καὶ Γλαύκης τῆς Κυχρέως. μίγνυται δὲ αὖθις Αἰακὸς

[1] κομίσας Heyne, Wagner: εἰσκομίσας A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

(*Theb.* vii. 315 *sqq.*) and his Scholiast, Lactantius Placidus (on *Theb.* vii. 424). The Phliasians even went so far as to assert that their Asopus was the father of Thebe, who gave her name to the Boeotian Thebes; but this view the Thebans could not accept (Pausanias, ii. 5. 2).

[1] Compare above, i. 9. 3; Pausanias, ii. 5. 1.

[2] Compare Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos*, 78; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 117.

[3] According to Lactantius Placidus (on Statius, *Theb.* vii. 325), live coals were to be found in the Asopus, and Statius, in his windy style (*Theb.* vii. 325 *sqq.*), talks of the "brave river blowing ashes of thunderbolts and Aetnaean vapours from its panting banks to the sky," which may be a poetical description of river-mists. But both the poet and his dutiful commentator here refer to the Boeotian Asopus, whereas Apollodorus probably refers to the Phliasian river of that name.

[4] Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 72. 5; Pausanias, ii. 29. 2; Hyginus, *Fab.* 52. As to Oenone, the ancient name of Aegina, compare Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 46 (75), v. 16 (29), viii. 7 (12),

to Corinth, and learned from Sisyphus that the ravisher was Zeus.[1] Asopus pursued him, but Zeus, by hurling thunderbolts, sent him away back to his own streams;[2] hence coals are fetched to this day from the streams of that river.[3] And having conveyed Aegina to the island then named Oenone, but now called Aegina after her, Zeus cohabited with her and begot a son Aeacus on her.[4] As Aeacus was alone in the island, Zeus made the ants into men for him.[5] And Aeacus married Endeis, daughter of Sciron, by whom he had two sons, Peleus and Telamon.[6] But Pherecydes says that Telamon was a friend, not a brother of Peleus, he being a son of Actaeus and Glauce, daughter of Cychreus.[7] After-

Isthm. v. 34 (44); Herodotus, viii. 46; Strabo, viii. 6. 16, p. 375; Hyginus, *Fab.* 52. Another old name for Aegina was Oenopia. See Pindar, *Nem.* viii. 21 (45); Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 472 *sqq.*

[5] As to the transformation of the ants into men see Hesiod, quoted by the Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* iii. 13 (21), and by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 176; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 180; Strabo, viii. 6. 16, p. 375; Hyginus, *Fab.* 52; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 614 *sqq.*; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 23, 142 (First Vatican Mythographer, 67; Second Vatican Mythographer, 204). The fable is clearly based on the false etymology which derived the name Myrmidons from *μύρμηκες*, "ants." Strabo (*l.c.*) attempted to rationalize the myth.

[6] Compare Plutarch, *Theseus*, 10; Pausanias, ii. 29. 9; Scholiast on Euripides, *Andromache*, 687. According to another account, Endeis, the mother of Telamon and Peleus, was a daughter of Chiron. See Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* v. 7 (12); Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 14; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14.

[7] This account of the parentage of Telamon, for which we have the authority of the old writer Pherecydes (about 480 B.C.), is probably earlier than the one which represents him as a son of Aeacus. According to it, Telamon was a native, not of Aegina, but of Salamis, his mother Glauce being a

Ψαμάθη τῇ Νηρέως εἰς φώκην[1] ἠλλαγμένῃ διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι συνελθεῖν, καὶ τεκεῖν παῖδα Φῶκον.

[5]Ἦν δὲ εὐσεβέστατος πάντων[2] Αἰακός. διὸ καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατεχούσης ἀφορίας διὰ Πέλοπα, ὅτι Στυμφάλῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀρκάδων πολεμῶν καὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν ἐλεῖν μὴ δυνάμενος, προσποιησάμενος φιλίαν ἔκτεινεν αὐτὸν καὶ διέσπειρε μελίσας, χρησμοὶ[3] θεῶν ἔλεγον ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τῶν ἐνεστώτων κακῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐὰν Αἰακὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς εὐχὰς ποιήσηται ποιησαμένου δὲ εὐχὰς Αἰακοῦ τῆς ἀκαρπίας ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀπαλλάττεται.

[1] φώκην S. Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: φύκην ROR[a], Heyne, Westermann, Müller: φύλην A.
[2] πάντων ES: ἀπάντων A.
[3] χρησμοὶ S: χρησμοὶ δὲ A.

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daughter of Cychreus, king of Salamis (as to whom see below, iii. 12. 7). It is certain that the later life of Telamon was associated with Salamis, where, according to one account (Diodorus Siculus, iv. 72. 7), he married Glauce, daughter of Cychreus, king of Salamis, the very woman whom the other and perhaps earlier version of the legend represented as his mother. See Sir R. C. Jebb, *Sophocles, Ajax* (Cambridge, 1896), Introduction, § 4, pp. xvii *sq.*

[1] Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 1003 *sqq.*; Pindar, *Nem.* v. 12 (21) *sq.*; Scholast on Euripides, *Andromache*, 687, who mentions the transformation of the sea nymph into a seal. The children of Phocus settled in Phocis and gave their name to the country. See Pausanias, ii. 29. 2, x. 1. 1, x. 30. 4. Thus we have an instance of a Greek people, the Phocians, who traced their name and their lineage to an animal ancestress. But it would be rash to infer that the seal was the totem of the Phocians. There is no evidence that they regarded the seal with any superstitious respect, though the people of Phocaea, in Asia Minor, who were Phocians by descent (Pausanias, vii. 3. 10), put the figure of a seal on their earliest coins. But this was probably no more than a punning badge, like the rose of Rhodes and the wild celery

wards Aeacus cohabited with Psamathe, daughter of Nereus, who turned herself into a seal to avoid his embraces, and he begot a son Phocus.[1]

Now Aeacus was the most pious of men. Therefore, when Greece suffered from infertility on account of Pelops, because in a war with Stymphalus, king of the Arcadians, being unable to conquer Arcadia, he slew the king under a pretence of friendship, and scattered his mangled limbs, oracles of the gods declared that Greece would be rid of its present calamities if Aeacus would offer prayers on its behalf. So Aeacus did offer prayers, and Greece was delivered from the dearth.[2] Even after his death

(*selinon*) of Selinus. See George Macdonald, *Coin Types* (Glasgow, 1905), pp. 17, 41, 50.

[2] Compare Isocrates, *Evagoras*, 14 *sq.* ; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 61. 1 *sq.* ; Pausanias, ii. 29. 7 *sq.* ; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vi. 3. 28, p. 753 ; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* v. 9 (17). Tradition ran that a prolonged drought had withered up the fruits of the earth all over Greece, and that Aeacus, as the son of the sky-god Zeus, was deemed the person most naturally fitted to obtain from his heavenly father the rain so urgently needed by the parched earth and the dying corn. So the Greeks sent envoys to him to request that he would intercede with Zeus to save the crops and the people. "Complying with their petition, Aeacus ascended the Hellenic mountain and stretching out pure hands to heaven he called on the common god, and prayed him to take pity on afflicted Greece. And even while he prayed a loud clap of thunder pealed, and all the surrounding sky was overcast, and furious and continuous showers of rain burst out and flooded the whole land. Thus was exuberant fertility procured for the fruits of the earth by the prayers of Aeacus" (Clement of Alexandria, *l.c.*). In gratitude for this timely answer to his prayers Aeacus is said to have built a sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Panhellenius in Aegina (Pausanias, ii. 30. 4). No place could well be more appropriate for a temple of the rain-god ; for the sharp peak of Mount Panhellenius, the highest mountain of Aegina, is a conspicuous landmark viewed from

τιμᾶται δὲ καὶ παρὰ Πλούτωνι τελευτήσας Αἰακός, καὶ τὰς κλεῖς τοῦ Ἅιδου φυλάττει.

Διαφέροντος δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι Φώκου, τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς[1] Πηλέα καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπιβουλεῦσαι· καὶ λαχὼν κλήρῳ Τελαμὼν συγγυμναζόμενον αὐτὸν βαλὼν δίσκῳ κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς κτείνει, καὶ κομίσας μετὰ Πηλέως κρύπτει κατά τινος ὕλης. φωραθέντος δὲ τοῦ φόνου φυγάδες ἀπὸ Αἰγίνης ὑπὸ
7 Αἰακοῦ ἐλαύνονται. καὶ Τελαμὼν μὲν εἰς Σαλα-

[1] ἀδελφούς <φασιν> Eberhard.

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all the neighbouring coasts of the gulf, and in antiquity a cloud settling on the mountain was regarded as a sign of rain (Theophrastus, *De signis tempestat.* 1 24). According to Apollodorus, the cause of the death had been a crime of Pelops, who had treacherously murdered Stymphalus, king of Arcadia, and scattered the fragments of his mangled body abroad. This crime seems not to be mentioned by any other ancient writer; but Diodorus Siculus in like manner traces the calamity to a treacherous murder. He says (iv 61. 1) that to punish the Athenians for the assassination of his son Androgeus, the Cretan king Minos prayed to Zeus that Athens might be afflicted with drought and famine, and that these evils soon spread over Attica and Greece. Similarly Alcmaeon's matricide was believed to have entailed a failure of the crops. See above, iii. 7. 5 with the note.

[1] In some late Greek verses, inscribed on the tomb of a religious sceptic at Rome, Aeacus is spoken of as the warder or key holder (κληδοῦχος) of the infernal regions; but in the same breath the poet assures us that these regions, with all their inmates, were mere fables, and that of the dead there remained no more than the bones and ashes. See *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. iii. p. 933, No. 6298; G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta* (Berlin, 1878), pp. 262 *sq.*, No. 646. Elsewhere Pluto himself was represented in art holding in his hand the key of Hades. See Pausanias, v. 20. 3. According to Isocrates (*Evagoras*, 15), Aeacus enjoyed the greatest honours after death, sitting

Aeacus is honoured in the abode of Pluto, and keeps the keys of Hades.[1]

As Phocus excelled in athletic sports, his brothers Peleus and Telamon plotted against him, and the lot falling on Telamon, he killed his brother in a match by throwing a quoit at his head, and with the help of Peleus carried the body and hid it in a wood. But the murder being detected, the two were driven fugitives from Aegina by Aeacus.[2] And Telamon

as assessor with Pluto and Proserpine. Plato represents him as judging the dead along with Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Triptolemus (*Apology*, 32, p. 41 A), it being his special duty to try the souls of those who came from Europe, while his colleague Rhadamanthys dealt with those that came from Asia (*Gorgias*, 79, p. 524 A) : apparently no provision was made for African ghosts. Lucian depicts Aeacus playing a less dignified part in the lower world as a sort of ticket-collector or customhouse officer (τελώνης), whose business it was to examine the ghostly passengers on landing from the ferry-boat, count them, and see that they had paid the fare. See Lucian, *Cataplus*, 4, *Charon*, 2. Elsewhere he speaks of Aeacus as keeping the gate of Hades (*Dialog. Mort.* xx. 1).

[2] As to the murder of Phocus and the exile of Peleus and Telamon, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 72. 6 *sq.* (who represents the death as accidental) ; Pausanias, ii. 29. 9 *sq.* ; Scholia on Pindar, *Nem.* v. 14 (25) ; Scholia on Euripides, *Andromache*, 687 (quoting verses from the *Alcma onis*) ; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 14 ; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 38 ; Plutarch, *Parallela*, 25 ; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175 (vol. i. pp. 444, 447, ed. Müller) ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14 ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 266 *sqq.* ; Lactantius Placidus on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 113, vii. 344, xi. 281. Tradition differed on several points as to the murder. According to Apollodorus and Plutarch the murderer was Telamon ; but according to what seems to have been the more generally accepted view he was Peleus. (So Diodorus, Pausanias, the Scholiast on Homer, one of the Scholiasts on Euripides, *l.c.*, Ovid, and in one passage Lactantius Placidus). If Pherecydes was right in denying any relationship between Telamon and Peleus,

μῖνα παραγίνεται πρὸς Κυχρέα τὸν <Ποσειδῶνος καὶ>[1] Σαλαμῖνος τῆς Ἀσωποῦ. κτείνας δὲ ὄφιν οὗτος ἀδικοῦντα τὴν νῆσον αὐτῆς[2] ἐβασίλευε, καὶ τελευτῶν ἅπαις τὴν βασιλείαν παραδίδωσι Τελα-

[1] **Ποσειδῶνος καὶ** inserted by Aegius.

[2] **αὐτῆς** Heyne (conjecture): ἧς αὐτὸς Heyne (in text), Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner, apparently following the MSS. Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175 (vol. i. p. 444, ed. Müller), Κυχρεὺς γὰρ ὁ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Σαλαμῖνος τῆς Ἀσωπου κτείνας ὄφιν τὴν νῆσον λυμαινόμενον ἐβασίλευσεν αὐτῆς, ἅπαις δὲ τελευτων τὴν βασιλείαν Τελαμῶνι κατέλειψε φυγόντι πρὸς αὐτον. In writing thus, Tzetzes probably had the present passage of Apollodorus before him. Accordingly in Apollodorus we should perhaps read **ἐβασίλευσε** for **ἐβασίλευε**.

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and in representing Telamon as a Salaminian rather than an Aeginetan (see above), it becomes probable that in the original tradition Peleus, not Telamon, was described as the murderer of Phocus. Another version of the story was that both brothers had a hand in the murder, Telamon having hanged him on the head with a quoit, while Peleus finished him off with the stroke of an axe in the middle of his back. This was the account given by the anonymous author of the old epic *Alcmaeonis*; and the same division of labour between the brothers was recognized by the Scholiast on Pindar and Tzetzes, though according to them the quoit was handled by Peleus and the cold steel by Telamon. Other writers (Antoninus Liberalis and Hyginus) lay the murder at the door of both brothers without parcelling the guilt out exactly between them. There seems to be a general agreement that the crime was committed, or the accident happened, in the course of a match at quoits; but Dorotheus (quoted by Plutarch, *l.c.*) alleged that the murder was perpetrated by Telamon at a boar hunt, and this view seems to have been accepted by Lactantius Placidus in one place (on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 113), though in other places (on vii. 344 and xi. 281) he speaks as if the brothers were equally guilty. But perhaps this version of the story originated in a confusion of the murder of Phocus with the subsequent homicide of Eurytion,

betook himself to Salamis, to the court of Cychreus, son of Poseidon and Salamis, daughter of Asopus. This Cychreus became king of Salamis through killing a snake which ravaged the island, and dying childless he bequeathed the kingdom to Telamon.[1] And

which is said to have taken place at a boar-hunt, whether the hunting of the Calydonian boar or another. See below, iii. 13. 2 with the note. According to Pausanias the exiled Telamon afterwards returned and stood his trial, pleading his cause from the deck of a ship, because his father would not suffer him to set foot in the island. But being judged guilty by his stern sire he sailed away, to return to his native land no more. It may have been this verdict, delivered against his own son, which raised the reputation of Aeacus for rigid justice to the highest pitch, and won for him a place on the bench beside Minos and Rhadamanthys in the world of shades.

[1] Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 72. 4; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 110, 175, 451. In the second of these passages (on *v.* 175, vol. i. p. 444, ed Müller) Tzetzes agrees closely with Apollodorus and probably follows him. A somewhat different version of the legend was told by Hesiod. According to him the snake was reared by Cychreus, but expelled from Salamis by Eurylochus because of the ravages it committed in the island; and after its expulsion it was received at Eleusis by Demeter, who made it one of her attendants. See Strabo, ix. 1. 9, p. 394. Others said that the snake was not a real snake, but a bad man nicknamed Snake on account of his cruelty, who was banished by Eurylochus and took refuge at Eleusis, where he was appointed to a minor office in the sanctuary of Demeter. See Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Κυχρεῖος πάγος; Eustathius, *Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes*, 507 (*Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. C. Müller, vol. ii. p. 314). Cychreus was regarded as one of the guardian heroes of Salamis, where he was buried with his face to the west. Sacrifices were regularly offered at his grave, and when Solon desired to establish the claim of Athens to the possession of the island, he sailed across by night and sacrificed to the dead man at his grave. See Plutarch, *Solon*, 9. Cychreus was worshipped also at Athens

μῶνι. ὁ δὲ γαμεῖ Περίβοιαν[1] τὴν Ἀλκάθου[2] τοῦ Πέλοπος· καὶ ποιησαμένου εὐχὰς Ἡρακλέους ἵνα αὐτῷ παῖς ἄρρην γένηται, φανέντος δὲ μετὰ τὰς εὐχὰς αἰετοῦ, τὸν γενηθέντα ἐκάλεσεν Αἴαντα. καὶ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Τροίαν σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ λαμβάνει γέρας Ἡσιόνην τὴν Λαομέδοντος θυγατέρα, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ γίνεται Τεῦκρος.

XIII. Ηηλεὺς δὲ εἰς Φθίαν φυγὼν πρὸς Εὐρυτίωνα[3] τὸν Ἄκτορος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καθαίρεται, καὶ λαμβάνει παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀντιγόνην καὶ τῆς χώρας τὴν τρίτην μοῖραν. καὶ γίνεται θυγάτηρ

[1] Περίβοιαν A : Ἠερίβοια, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 14 : Ἐρίβοια Pindar, *Isthm.* vi. 45 (65), Diodorus Siculus, iv. 72. 7.

[2] Ἀλκάθου Aegius : ἀλκάνδρου A.

[3] Εὐρυτίωνα Aegius : Εὔρυτον A, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175 (vol. i. p. 445, ed. Müller). As to Εὐρυτίων, see a few lines below.

(Plutarch, *Theseus*, 10). It is said that at the battle of Salamis a serpent appeared among the Greek ships, and God announced to the Athenians that this serpent was the hero Cychreus (Pausanias i. 36. 1). The story may preserve a reminiscence of the belief that kings and heroes regularly turn into serpents after death. The same belief possibly explains the association of Erichthonius or Erechtheus and Cecrops with serpents at Athens. See *The Dying God*, pp. 86 *sq.* On account of this legendary serpent Lycophron called Salamis the Dragon Isle (*Cassandra*, 110).

[1] Compare Xenophon, *Cyneget.* i. 9 ; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 14. According to Diodorus Siculus (iv. 72. 7), Telamon first married Glauce, daughter of Cychreus, king of Salamis, and on her death he wedded the Athenian Eriboea, daughter of Alcathous, by whom he had Ajax. Pindar also mentions Eriboea as the wife of Telamon : see *Isthm.* vi. 45 (65).

[2] As to the prayer of Hercules and the appearance of the eagle in answer to the prayer, see Pindar, *Isthm.* vi. 35 (51) *sqq.* ; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 455–461. Pindar, followed by Apollodorus and Tzetzes, derived the name Ajax

Telamon married Periboea, daughter of Alcathus,[1] son of Pelops, and called his son Ajax, because when Hercules had prayed that he might have a male child, an eagle appeared after the prayer.[2] And having gone with Hercules on his expedition against Troy, he received as a prize Hesione, daughter of Laomedon, by whom he had a son Teucer.[3]

XIII. Peleus fled to Phthia to the court of Eurytion, son of Actor, and was purified by him, and he received from him his daughter Antigone and the third part of the country.[4] And a daughter Polydora was born

from *aietos* "an eagle." A story ran that Hercules wrapt the infant Ajax in the lion's skin which he himself wore, and that Ajax was thus made invulnerable except in the armpit, where the quiver had hung, or, according to others, at the neck. Hence, in describing the suicide of the hero, Aeschylus told how, when he tried to run himself through the body, the sword doubled back in the shape of a bow, till some spirit showed the desperate man the fatal point to which to apply the trenchant blade. See Scholiast on Sophocles, *Ajax*, 833; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 455–461; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 821. Plato probably had this striking passage of the tragedy in his mind when he made Alcibiades speak of Socrates as more proof against vice than Ajax against steel (*Sympos.* 35, p. 219 E).

[3] See above, ii. 6. 4. As Hesione, the mother of Teucer, was not the lawful wife of Telamon, Homer speaks of Teucer as a bastard (*Il.* viii. 283 *sq.*, with the Scholiast on *v.* 284). According to another account, it was not Telamon but his brother Peleus who went with Hercules to the siege of Troy. The poets were not consistent on this point. Thus, while in two passages (*Nem.* iv. 25 (40) *sq.*; *Isthm.* vi. 27 (39) *sqq.*) Pindar assigns to Telamon the glory of the adventure, in another he transfers it to Peleus (quoted by the Scholiast on Euripides, *Andromache*, 796; Pindar, p. 604 ed. Sandys). Euripides was equally inconsistent. See his *Troades* 804 *sqq.* (Telamon), contrasted with his *Andromache*, 796 *sqq.* (Peleus).

[4] Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175 (vol. i. pp. 444 *sq.*, 447, ed. Müller); Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.*

αὐτῷ Πολυδώρα, ἣν ἔγημε Βῶρος ὁ Περιήρους.
2 ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τοῦ Καλυδωνίου κάπρου
μετ' Εὐρυτίωνος ἐλθών, προέμενος ἐπὶ τὸν σὺν
ἀκόντιον Εὐρυτίωνος τυγχάνει καὶ κτείνει τοῦτον
ἄκων. πάλιν οὖν ἐκ Φθίας φυγὼν εἰς Ἰωλκὸν
πρὸς Ἄκαστον ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καθαί-
3 ρεται. ἀγωνίζεται δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Πελίᾳ[1] ἀγῶνα,
πρὸς Ἀταλάντην διαπαλαίσας. καὶ Ἀστυδάμεια
ἡ Ἀκάστου γυνή, Πηλέως ἐρασθεῖσα, περὶ συνου-
σίας προσέπεμψεν αὐτῷ λόγους. μὴ δυναμένη

[1] Πελίᾳ Aegius : μελίᾳ A.

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38 ; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 72. 6 ; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1063 ; Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* ii. 684, p. 321. There are some discrepancies in these accounts. According to Tzetzes and the Scholiast on Aristophanes, the man who purified Peleus for the murder of Phocus was Eurytus (not Eurytion), son of Actor. According to Antoninus Liberalis, he was Eurytion, son of Irus. According to Diodorus, he was Actor, king of the country, who died childless and left the kingdom to Peleus. Eustathius agrees that the host of Peleus was Actor, but says that he had a daughter Polymela, whom he bestowed in marriage on Peleus along with the kingdom. From Tzetzes (*l.c.*, pp. 444 *sq.*) we learn that the purification of Peleus by Eurytus (Eurytion) was recorded by Pherecydes, whom Apollodorus may here be following.

[1] See Homer, *Il.* xvi. 173-178, who says that Polydora, daughter of Peleus, had a son Menesthius by the river Spercheius, though the child was nominally fathered on her human husband Borus, son of Perieres. Compare Heliodorus, *Aethiop.* ii. 34. Hesiod also recognized Polydora as the daughter of Peleus (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 175). Homer does not mention the mother of Polydora, but according to Pherecydes she was Antigone, daughter of Eurytion (Scholiast on Homer, *l.c.*). Hence it is probable that here, as in so many places, Apollodorus followed Pherecydes. According to Staphylus, in the third book of his work on Thessaly, the wife of Peleus and mother

to him, who was wedded by Borus, son of Perieres.[1] Thence he went with Eurytion to hunt the Calydonian boar, but in throwing a dart at the hog he involuntarily struck and killed Eurytion. Therefore flying again from Phthia he betook him to Acastus at Iolcus and was purified by him.[2] And at the games celebrated in honour of Pelias he contended in wrestling with Atalanta.[3] And Astydamia, wife of Acastus, fell in love with Peleus, and sent him a proposal for a meeting;[4] and when she could not prevail on him

of Polydora was Eurydice, daughter of Actor (Scholiast on Homer, *l.c.*). A little later on (§ 4 of this chapter) Apollodorus says that Peleus himself married Polydora, daughter of Perieres, and that she had a son Menesthius by the river Sperchius, though the child was nominally fathered on Peleus. In this latter passage Apollodorus seems to have fallen into confusion in describing Polydora as the wife of Peleus, though in the present passage he had correctly described her as his daughter. Compare Hofer, in W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, iii 2641 *sq.*

[1] As to this involuntary homicide committed by Peleus and his purification by Acastus, see above, i. 8. 2; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1063; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 38; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175 (vol. i. p. 447, ed. Müller). The Scholiast on Aristophanes calls the slain man Eurytus, not Eurytion. Antoninus Liberalis and Tzetzes describe him as Eurytion, son of Irus, not of Actor. They do not mention the hunt of the Calydonian boar in particular, but speak of a boar-hunt or a hunt in general.

[2] See above, iii. 9. 2.

[3] The following romantic story of the wicked wife, the virtuous hero, and his miraculous rescue from the perils of the forest, in which his treacherous host left him sleeping alone and unarmed, is briefly alluded to by Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 54 (88) *sqq.*, v. 25 (46) *sqq.* It is told more explicitly by the Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 54 (88) and 59 (95); the Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1063; and the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 224. But the fullest and clearest version of the tale is given by Apollodorus in the present

δὲ πεῖσαι, πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ πέμψασα ἔφη μέλλειν Πηλέα γαμεῖν Στερόπην τὴν Ἀκάστου θυγατέρα· καὶ τοῦτο ἐκείνη ἀκούσασα ἀγχόνην ἀνάπτει. Πηλέως δὲ πρὸς Ἄκαστον καταψεύδεται, λέγουσα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ συνουσίας πεπειρᾶσθαι. Ἄκαστος[1] <δὲ>[2] ἀκούσας κτεῖναι μὲν ὃν ἐκάθηρεν οὐκ ἠβουλήθη, ἄγει δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θήραν[3] εἰς τὸ Πήλιον. ἔνθα ἀμίλλης περὶ θήρας γενομένης, Πηλεὺς μὲν ὢν ἐχειροῦτο θηρίων τὰς γλώσσας τούτων ἐκτεμὼν[4] εἰς πήραν ἐτίθει, οἱ δὲ μετὰ Ἀκάστου ταῦτα χειρούμενοι κατεγέλων ὡς μηδὲν τεθηρακότος[5] τοῦ Πηλέως. ὁ δὲ τὰς γλώσσας παρασχόμενος ὅσας εἶχεν ἐκείνοις, τοσαῦτα ἔφη τεθηρευκέναι. ἀποκοιμηθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Πηλίῳ, ἀπολιπὼν Ἄκαστος καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ἐν τῇ τῶν βοῶν κόπρῳ κρύψας ἐπανέρχεται. ὁ δὲ ἐξαναστὰς καὶ ζητῶν τὴν μάχαιραν, ὑπὸ τῶν Κενταύρων καταληφθεὶς ἔμελλεν ἀπόλλυσθαι, σώζεται δὲ ὑπὸ Χείρωνος· οὗτος καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν αὐτοῦ ἐκζητήσας δίδωσι.

[1] ὁ Ἄκαστος Emperius, Westermann, Bekker.
[2] δὲ inserted by Hercher. [3] θήραν R: θήρας A.
[4] ἐκτεμὼν R^a, Hercher: ἐκτέμνων Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Wagner, apparently following most MSS.
[5] τεθηρακότος RR^aB, Westermann, Wagner: τεθηρευκότος C, Heyne, Müller, Bekker.

passage. Pindar calls the wicked wife Hippolyta or Hippolyta Cretheis, that is, Hippolyta daughter of Cretheus. His Scholiast calls her Cretheis; the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius calls her Cretheis or Hippolyte; and the Scholiast on Aristophanes calls her first Hippolyte and afterwards Astydamia. The sword of Peleus, which his faithless host hid in the cows' dung while the hero lay sleeping in the wood, was a magic sword wrought by the divine smith Hephaestus and bestowed on Peleus by the pitying gods as a

she sent word to his wife that Peleus was about to marry Sterope, daughter of Acastus; on hearing which the wife of Peleus strung herself up. And the wife of Acastus falsely accused Peleus to her husband, alleging that he had attempted her virtue. On hearing that, Acastus would not kill the man whom he had purified, but took him to hunt on Pelion. There a contest taking place in regard to the hunt, Peleus cut out and put in his pouch the tongues of the animals that fell to him, while the party of Acastus bagged his game and derided him as if he had taken nothing. But he produced them the tongues, and said that he had taken just as many animals as he had tongues.[1] When he had fallen asleep on Pelion, Acastus deserted him, and hiding his sword in the cows' dung, returned. On arising and looking for his sword, Peleus was caught by the centaurs and would have perished, if he had not been saved by Chiron, who also restored him his sword, which he had sought and found.

reward for his chastity. With this wondrous brand the chaste hero, like a mediaeval knight, was everywhere victorious in the fight and successful in the chase. Compare Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 20. The episode of the hiding of the sword was told by Hesiod, some of whose verses on the subject are quoted by the Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 59 (95). The whole story of the adventures of Peleus in the house of Acastus and in the forest reads like a fairy tale, and we can hardly doubt that it contains elements of genuine folk lore. These are well brought out by W. Mannhardt in his study of the story. See his *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte* (Berlin, 1877), pp. 49 *sqq.*

[1] In fairy tales the hero often cuts out the tongues of a seven-headed dragon or other fearsome beast, and produces them as evidence of his prowess. See W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, pp. 53 *sqq.*; *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, ii. 269.

Γαμεῖ δὲ ὁ Πηλεὺς Πολυδώραν τὴν Περιήρους, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ γίνεται Μενέσθιος ἐπίκλην, ὁ Σπερχειοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. αὖθις δὲ γαμεῖ Θέτιν τὴν Νηρέως, περὶ ἧς τοῦ γάμου Ζεὺς καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἤρισαν, Θέμιδος[1] δὲ θεσπιῳδούσης ἔσεσθαι τὸν ἐκ ταύτης γεννηθέντα κρείττονα τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπέσχοντο. ἔνιοι δέ φασι, Διὸς ὁρμῶντος ἐπὶ τὴν ταύτης συνουσίαν, εἰρηκέναι Προμηθέα τὸν ἐκ ταύτης αὐτῷ γεννηθέντα οὐρανοῦ δυναστεύσειν.[2] τινὲς δὲ λέγουσι Θέτιν μὴ βουληθῆναι Διὶ συνελθεῖν ὡς[3] ὑπὸ Ἥρας τραφεῖσαν, Δία δὲ ὀργισθέντα θνητῷ θέλειν αὐτὴν[4] συνοικίσαι.[5] Χείρωνος οὖν ὑποθεμένου Πηλεῖ συλλαβεῖν καὶ κατασχεῖν[6] αὐτὴν μεταμορφουμένην, ἐπιτηρήσας συναρπάζει, γινομένην δὲ ὅτε μὲν πῦρ ὅτε δὲ ὕδωρ ὅτε δὲ θηρίον οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκε πρὶν ἢ τὴν ἀρχαίαν μορφὴν εἶδεν ἀπολαβοῦσαν. γαμεῖ δὲ ἐν τῷ Πηλίῳ, κἀκεῖ

[1] Θεμιδος ER: Θετιδος A (also as a first-hand correction in E). [2] δυναστεύσειν Gale: δυναστεύειν A.
[3] ὡς E, but apparently wanting in A.
[4] αὐτὴν E: αὐτῇ A.
[5] συνοικίσαι Stavernus: συνοικίσειν E: συνοικῆσαι A.
[6] κατασχεῖν ER: κατέχειν C.

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[1] See above, note on iii. 13. 1.

[2] Compare Homer, *Il.* xviii. 83 *sqq.*, 432 *sqq.*; Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 61 (100) *sqq.*; Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aul.* 701 *sqq.*, 1036 *sqq.*; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 805 *sqq.*; Catullus, lxiv.; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i pp. 65, 142 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 207, 208; Second Vatican Mythographer, 205).

[3] See Pindar, *Isthm.* viii. 27 (58) *sqq.*; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 790 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 217 *sqq.*, who attributes the prophecy to Proteus. The present passage of Apollodorus is quoted, with the author's name, by Tzetzes, (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 178).

Peleus married Polydora, daughter of Perieres, by whom he had a putative son Menesthius, though in fact Menesthius was the son of the river Sperchius.[1] Afterwards he married Thetis, daughter of Nereus,[2] for whose hand Zeus and Poseidon had been rivals; but when Themis prophesied that the son born of Thetis would be mightier than his father, they withdrew.[3] But some say that when Zeus was bent on gratifying his passion for her, Prometheus declared that the son borne to him by her would be lord of heaven;[4] and others affirm that Thetis would not consort with Zeus because she had been brought up by Hera, and that Zeus in anger would marry her to a mortal.[5] Chiron, therefore, having advised Peleus to seize her and hold her fast in spite of her shape-shifting, he watched his chance and carried her off, and though she turned, now into fire, now into water, and now into a beast, he did not let her go till he saw that she had resumed her former shape.[6] And he married her on Pelion,

[4] Compare Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 908 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 519; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, v. 338 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 54; *id. Astronom.* ii. 15. According to Hyginus, Zeus released Prometheus from his fetters in gratitude for the warning which the sage had given him not to wed Thetis.

[5] Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 790-798, a passage which Apollodorus seems here to have had in mind.

[6] As to the various shapes into which the reluctant Thetis turned herself in order to evade the grasp of her mortal lover see Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 62 (101) *sqq.*; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* iii. 35 (60), iv. 62 (101); Pausanias, v. 18. 5; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, iii. 618–624; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175, 178 (vol. i. pp 446, 457, ed. Müller); Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 582; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 235 *sqq.* She is said to have changed into fire, water, wind, a tree, a bird, a tiger, a lion, a serpent, and a

θεοὶ τὸν γάμον εὐωχούμενοι καθύμνησαν. καὶ δίδωσι Χείρων Πηλεῖ δόρυ μέλινον, Ποσειδῶν δὲ ἵππους Βαλίον καὶ Ξάνθον· ἀθάνατοι δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι.

6 Ὡς δὲ ἐγέννησε Θέτις ἐκ Πηλέως βρέφος, ἀθάνατον θέλουσα ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, κρύφα Πηλέως εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐγκρύβουσα[1] τῆς νυκτὸς ἔφθειρεν ὃ ἦν αὐτῷ θνητὸν πατρῷον, μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ ἔχριεν ἀμβροσίᾳ. Πηλεὺς δὲ ἐπιτηρήσας καὶ σπαίροντα

[1] ἐγκρύβουσα SA : ἐγκρύπτουσα E.

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cuttle fish. It was when she had assumed the form of a cuttle fish (*sepia*) that Peleus at last succeeded in seizing her and holding her fast (Tzetzes, *ll.cc.*). With the transformations which Thetis underwent in order to escape from the arms of her lover we may compare the transformations which her father Nereus underwent in order to escape from Hercules (above, ii. 5. 11), the transformations which the river god Achelous underwent in his tussle with the same doughty hero (above, ii. 7. 5, note), and the transformations which the sea god Proteus underwent in order to give the slip to Menelaus (Homer, *Od.* iv. 354 *sqq.*). All these stories were appropriately told of water-spirits, their mutability reflecting as it were the instability of the fickle, inconstant element of which they were born. The place where Peleus caught and mastered his sea-bride was believed to be the south eastern headland of Thessaly, which hence bore the name of Sepia or the Cuttle fish. The whole coast of the Cape was sacred to Thetis and the other Nereids; and after their fleet had been wrecked on the headland, the Persians sacrificed to Thetis on the spot (Herodotus, vii. 191). See further, Appendix, "The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis."

[1] The Muses sang at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, according to Pindar (*Pyth.* iii. 89 (159) *sqq.*). Catullus describes the Fates singing on the same occasion, and he has recorded their magic song (lxiv. 305 *sqq.*).

[2] Compare Homer, *Il.* xvi. 140–144, with the Scholiast on *v.* 140, according to whom Chiron felled the ash-tree for the

and there the gods celebrated the marriage with feast and song.[1] And Chiron gave Peleus an ashen spear,[2] and Poseidon gave him horses, Balius and Xanthus, and these were immortal.[3]

When Thetis had got a babe by Peleus, she wished to make it immortal, and unknown to Peleus she used to hide it in the fire by night in order to destroy the mortal element which the child inherited from its father, but by day she anointed him with ambrosia.[4] But Peleus watched her, and, seeing the child

shaft, while Athena polished it, and Hephaestus wrought (the blade). For this account the Scholiast refers to the author of the epic *Cypria*.

[3] Compare Homer, *Il.* xvi. 148 *sqq.*

[4] This account of how Thetis attempted to render Achilles immortal, and how the attempt was frustrated by Peleus, is borrowed from Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 869 *sqq.* Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 178 (vol. i. p. 458, ed. Müller). According to another legend, Thetis bore seven sons, of whom Achilles was the seventh; she destroyed the first six by throwing them into the fire or into a kettle of boiling water to see whether they were mortal or to make them immortal by consuming the merely mortal portion of their frame; and the seventh son, Achilles, would have perished in like manner, if his father Peleus had not snatched him from the fire at the moment when as yet only his ankle bone was burnt. To supply this missing portion of his body, Peleus dug up the skeleton of the giant Damysus, the fleetest of all the giants, and, extracting from it the ankle-bone, fitted it neatly into the ankle of his little son Achilles, applying drugs which caused the new, or rather old, bone to coalesce perfectly with the rest. See Ptolemy Hephaestionis, vi. in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci*, p. 195; Lycophron, *Cassandra*, 178 *sq.*, with scholium of Tzetzes on *v.* 178 (vol. i. pp. 455 *sq.*); Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 37; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1068, p. 443, ed. Fr. Dübner; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 816. A similar story is told of Demeter and the infant son of Celeus. See above, i. 5. 1, with the note.

τὸν παῖδα ἰδὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐβόησε· καὶ (-)έτις κωλυθεῖσα τὴν προαίρεσιν τελειῶσαι, νήπιον τὸν παῖδα ἀπολιποῦσα πρὸς Νηρηίδας ᾤχετο. κομίζει δὲ τὸν παῖδα πρὸς Χείρωνα Πηλεύς. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἔτρεφε σπλάγχνοις λεόντων καὶ συῶν ἀγρίων καὶ ἄρκτων μυελοῖς, καὶ ὠνόμασεν Ἀχιλλέα (πρότερον δὲ[1] ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ Λιγύρων) ὅτι τὰ χείλη μαστοῖς οὐ προσήνεγκε.

7 Πηλεὺς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα σὺν Ἰάσονι καὶ Διοσ-

[1] δὲ E: μὲν A.

[1] Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 875 *sqq.*, who says that when Thetis was interrupted by Peleus in her effort to make Achilles immortal, she threw the infant screaming on the floor, and rushing out of the house plunged angrily into the sea, and never returned again. In the *Iliad* Homer represents Thetis dwelling with her old father Nereus and the sea-nymphs in the depths of the sea (*Il.* i. 357 *sqq.*, xviii. 35 *sqq.*, xxiv. 83 *sqq.*), while her forlorn husband dragged out a miserable and solitary old age in the halls (*Il.* xviii. 434 *sq.*). Thus the poet would seem to have been acquainted with the story of the quarrel and parting of the husband and wife, though he nowhere alludes to it or to the painful misunderstanding which led to their separation. In this, as in many other places, Homer passes over in silence features of popular tradition which he either rejected as incredible or deemed below the dignity of the epic. Yet if we are right in classing the story of Peleus and Thetis with the similar tales of the marriage of a man to a mermaid or other marine creature, the narrative probably always ended in the usual sad way by telling how, after living happily together for a time, the two at last quarrelled and parted for ever.

[1] Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 37. According to Statius (*Achill.* ii. 382 *sqq.*), Chiron fed the youthful Achilles not on ordinary victuals, but on the flesh and marrows of lions. Philostratus says that his nourishment consisted of honeycombs and the marrows of fawns (*Heroica*, xx 2), while the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* (*s.v.* Ἀχιλλεύς, p. 181)

writhing on the fire, he cried out; and Thetis, thus prevented from accomplishing her purpose, forsook her infant son and departed to the Nereids.[1] Peleus brought the child to Chiron, who received him and fed him on the inwards of lions and wild swine and the marrows of bears,[2] and named him Achilles, because he had not put his lips to the breast;[3] but before that time his name was Ligyron.

After that Peleus, with Jason and the Dioscuri,

says that he was nurtured on the marrows of deer. Compare Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* i. 1, p. 14. The flesh and marrows of lions, wild boars, and bears were no doubt supposed to impart to the youthful hero who partook of them the strength and courage of these animals, while the marrows of fawns or deer may have been thought to ensure the fleetness of foot for which he was afterwards so conspicuous. It is thus that on the principle of sympathetic magic many races seek to acquire the qualities of certain animals by eating their flesh or drinking their blood; whereas they abstain from eating the flesh of other animals lest they should, by partaking of it, be infected with the undesirable qualities which these creatures are believed to possess. For example, in various African tribes men eat the hearts of lions in order to become lion-hearted, while others will not eat the flesh of tortoises lest they should become slow-footed like these animals. See *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, ii. 138 *sqq.* On the same principle the ancients believed that men could acquire the art of divination by eating the hearts of ravens, moles, or hawks, because these creatures were supposed to be endowed with prophetic powers. See Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, ii. 48; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxx. 19. So Medea is said to have restored the aged Aeson to youth by infusing into his veins a decoction of the liver of a long-lived stag and of the head of a crow that had survived nine generations of men. See Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 273 *sqq.*

[2] Apollodorus absurdly derives the name Achilles from α (privative) and χείλη, "lips," so that the word would mean "not lips." Compare *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 181, *s.v.* Ἀχιλλεύς; Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* i. 1, p. 14.

καίροις ἐπῴρθρισεν Ἰωλκόν, καὶ Ἀστυδάμειαν τὴν Ἀκάστου γυναῖκα φονεύει, καὶ διελὼν μεληδὸν διήγαγε δι' αὐτῆς τὸν στρατὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

8 Ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο ἐνναετὴς Ἀχιλλεύς, Κάλχαντος λέγοντος οὐ δύνασθαι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ Τροίαν αἱρεθῆναι, Θέτις προειδυῖα ὅτι ἐκεῖ στρατευόμενον αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι, κ ὑψασα ἐσθῆτι γυναικείᾳ ὡς παρθένον Λυκομήδει[1] παρέθετο. κἀκεῖ τρεφό-

[1] Λυκομήδει ES, apparently wanting in A.

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[1] As to the wicked behaviour of Astydamia to Peleus, see above, iii. 13. 3. But it is probable that the cutting of the bad woman in pieces and marching between the pieces into the city was more than a simple act of vengeance; it may have been a solemn sacrifice or purification designed to ensure the safety of the army in the midst of a hostile people. In Boeotia a form of public purification was to cut a dog in two and pass between the pieces. See Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 111. A similar rite was observed at purifying a Macedonian army. A dog was cut in two: the head and fore part were placed on the right, the hinder part, with the entrails, was placed on the left, and the troops in arms marched between the pieces. See Livy, xli 6; Quintus Curtius, *De gestis Alexandri Magni*, x. 9. 28. For more examples of similar rites, and an attempt to explain them, see *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 391 *sqq.* To the instances there cited may be added another. When the Algerine pirates were at sea in extreme danger, it was then custom to sacrifice a sheep, cut off its head, extract its entrails, and then throw them, together with the head, overboard; afterwards "with all the speed they can (without skinning) they cut the body in two parts by the middle, and then throw one part over the right side of the ship, and the other over the left, into the sea, as a kind of propitiation." See Joseph Pitts, *A true and faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammetans* (Exon. 1704), p. 14. As to the capture of Ioleus by Peleus, see Pindar, *Nem.* iii 34 (59), iv. 54 (89) *sq.* In the former of these passages Pindar says that Peleus captured Ioleus single-handed; but the

[illegible] and he slaughtered Astydamas [illegible] sole of Aeneias, and, having divided her limb from limb, he led the army through her into the city.[1]

When Achilles was nine years old, Calchas declared that Troy could not be taken without him. So Thetis foreseeing that it was fated he should perish if he went to the war, disguised him in female garb and entrusted him as a maiden to Lycomedes.[2] Bred at

[illegible] on the present subject on the authority of Pherecydes, Hecate was accompanied by Jason and the Tyrrhenian Circe and Medea. At the sentence with the [illegible] gives the [illegible] we may suppose that here also [illegible] Proserpine. [illegible] on Apollonius Rhodius, Argon. i. 224), [illegible] to the effect that Hecate put to death Absyrtus, [illegible] as his wicked wife.

[1] As to Astydamas [illegible] at the court of Lycomedes in Scyros see Hiller, *l.c.* 5 sqq.; Philostratus Junior, *Imag.* 7; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ix. 668; Hyginus, *Fab.* 96; Strabo, xiii. 1. 70 sqq. The subject was painted by Polygnotus in a chamber of the propylaea to the temple of Athena Pronaia at Delphi. Pausanias wrote a work entitled *The Sojourn on the Island of Scyros*: see *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ed. Müller, iv. p. 518 *sq.* Sophocles composed a tragedy under the same title, which was sometimes [illegible] to have dealt with the same subject; but [illegible] probably it was concerned with Neoptolemus at Scyros and the arrival of Teucer and Phoenix to convey him to Troy: see *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. Nauck[2], pp. 178 *sq.* Euphorion composed a tragedy on the subject of Achilles at Scyros: see *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iii. p. 131 *sqq.* The youthful Dionysus, like the youthful Achilles, is said to have been brought up as a girl: see Strabo, x. 3. 5 with the note. One of the questions which the emperor Hadrian used solemnly to propound to the antiquaries of his court was: What was the name of Achilles when he was a girl among girls? See Suidas, *s.v.* Πάτροκλος. The question was [illegible] answered. Achilles is [illegible] various ways: some said that the stripling's female name was Cercisera, others that it was Issa, and others that it was Pyrrha. See Pseudo-Hyginus, *Fab.* 96. Cf. [illegible] in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci*, p. 183.

μενος τῇ Λυκομήδους θυγατρὶ Δηιδαμείᾳ μίγνυται, καὶ γίνεται παῖς Πύρρος αὐτῷ ὁ κληθεὶς Νεοπτόλεμος αὖθις. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ μηνυθέντα παρὰ Λυκομήδει[1] ζητῶν Ἀχιλλέα, σάλπιγγι χρησάμενος εὗρε. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς Τροίαν ἦλθε.

Συνείπετο δὲ αὐτῷ Φοῖνιξ ὁ Ἀμύντορος. οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐτυφλώθη καταψευσαμένης φθορὰν[2] Φθίας τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς παλλακῆς.[3] Πηλεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν πρὸς Χείρωνα κομίσας, ὑπ' ἐκείνου θεραπευθέντα τὰς ὄψεις βασιλέα κατέστησε Δολόπων.

Συνείπετο δὲ καὶ Πάτροκλος ὁ Μενοιτίου καὶ

[1] Λυκομήδει ES R (compend.): Λυκομήδου A.
[2] φθορὰν ES: φθορᾷ A.
[3] παλλακῆς ES, Scholiast on Plato, *Laws*, xi. p. 931B: παλλακίδος A.

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[1] The usual story was that the crafty Ulysses spread out baskets and women's gear, mingled with arms, before the disguised Achilles and his girlish companions in Scyros; and that while the real girls pounced eagerly on the feminine gauds, Achilles betrayed his sex by snatching at the arms. See Philostratus Junior, *Imagines*, i; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xix. 326; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 162 *sqq.* Apollodorus tells us that Achilles was detected by the sound of a trumpet. This is explained by Hyginus (*Fab.* 96), who says that while Achilles was surveying the mingled trumpery and weapons, Ulysses caused a bugle to sound and a clash of arms to be heard, whereupon Achilles, imagining that an enemy was at hand, tore off his maidenly attire and seized spear and shield. Statius gives a similar account of the detection (*Achill.* ii. 167 *sqq.*).

[2] See Homer, *Il.* ix. 437–484, with the Scholiast on *v.* 448. But Homer says nothing about the blinding of Phoenix by his angry father or his cure by Chiron; and according to Homer the accusation of having debauched his father's con-

his court, Achilles had an intrigue with Deidamia, daughter of Lycomedes, and a son Pyrrhus was born to him, who was afterwards called Neoptolemus. But the secret of Achilles was betrayed, and Ulysses, seeking him at the court of Lycomedes, discovered him by the blast of a trumpet.[1] And in that way Achilles went to Troy.

He was accompanied by Phoenix, son of Amyntor. This Phoenix had been blinded by his father on the strength of a false accusation of seduction preferred against him by his father's concubine Phthia. But Peleus brought him to Chiron, who restored his sight, and thereupon Peleus made him king of the Dolopians.[2]

Achilles was also accompanied by Patroclus, son of

cubine was not false but true, Phoenix having been instigated to the deed by his mother, who was jealous of the concubine. But variations from the Homeric narrative were introduced into the story by the tragedians who handled the theme (Scholiast on Homer, *l.c.*). Sophocles and Euripides both wrote tragedies on the subject under the same title of *Phoenix*; the tragedy of Euripides seems to have been famous. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck[2], pp. 286, 621 *sqq*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. p. 320 *sqq*. The blinding of Phoenix by his father Amyntor is alluded to by a poet of the Greek anthology (*Anthol. Palat.* iii. 3). Both the poet and Apollodorus probably drew on Euripides, who from an allusion in Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 421) is known to have represented Phoenix as blind. Both the blinding and the healing of Phoenix are related by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 421), who may have followed Apollodorus. According to the Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*), the name of the concubine was Clytia; according to Tzetzes (*l.c.*), it was Clytia or Phthia. Apollodorus calls her Phthia. The Scholiast on Plato (*Laws*, xi. p. 931 B), gives a version of the story which agrees entirely with that of Apollodorus, and may have been copied from it. The healing of Phoenix's eyes by Chiron is mentioned by Propertius (ii. 1. 60).

Σθενέλης τῆς Ἀκάστου ἡ Περιώπιδος τῆς Φέρητος, ἡ καθάπερ φησὶ Φιλοκράτης, Πολυμήλης τῆς Ηλέως. οὗτος ἐν Ὀποῦντι διενεχθεὶς ἐν παιδιᾷ περὶ ἀστραγάλων[1] παῖδα Κλειτώνυμον[2] τὸν Ἀμφιδάμαντος ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ φυγὼν μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς παρὰ Ηλεῖ κατῴκει, καὶ Ἀχιλλέως ἐρώμενος γίνεται.[3] . . .

XIV. Κέκροψ αὐτόχθων, συμφυὲς ἔχων σῶμα ἀνδρὸς καὶ δράκοντος, τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος, καὶ τὴν γὴν πρότερον λεγομένην Ἀκτὴν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Κεκροπίαν ὠνόμασεν. ἐπὶ τούτου, φασίν, ἔδοξε τοῖς θεοῖς πόλεις καταλαβέσθαι, ἐν

[1] ἐν παιδιᾷ περὶ ἀστραγάλων παίζων A. Westermann, Muller, Wagner. I follow Bekker in omitting παίζων, but Heyne may be right in proposing to strike out both ἐν παιδιᾷ and παίζων as independent glosses on περὶ ἀστραγάλων. Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xii. 1, περὶ ἀστραγάλων ὀργισθεὶς ἀπέκτεινεν. Hercher changed παίζων into παῖς ὤν, but the jingle παῖς ὢν παῖδα is not at all in the manner of Apollodorus.

[2] κλειτώνυμον B O : κλυτώνυμον A : κλεισώνυμος Pherecydes (quoted by Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 87), Philostephanus (quoted by Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvi. 14) : κλισώνυμος Hellanicus (quoted by Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xii. 1).

[3] Heyne was probably right in marking a lacuna here.

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[1] Compare Homer, *Il.* xi. 785 *sqq.* Homer does not mention the name of Patroclus's mother.

[2] See Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 84–90; compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xii. 1; Strabo, ix. 4. 2, p. 425; Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, i. 3. 73 *sq.* The name of the slain lad was variously given as Clisonymus (Scholiast, *l.c.*) or Acanes (Strabo and Scholiast, *ll.cc.*).

[3] According to the *Parian Chronicle* (*Marmor Parium*, lines 2–4), with which Apollodorus is in general agreement,

Menoetius[1] and Sthenele, daughter of Acastus; or the mother of Patroclus was Periopis, daughter of Pheres, or, as Philocrates says, she was Polymele, daughter of Peleus. At Opus, in a quarrel over a game of dice, Patroclus killed the boy Clitonymus, son of Amphidamas, and flying with his father he dwelt at the house of Peleus[2] and became a minion of Achilles.

XIV. Cecrops, a son of the soil, with a body compounded of man and serpent, was the first king of Attica, and the country which was formerly called Acte he named Cecropia after himself.[3] In his time, they say, the gods resolved to take possession of

the first king of Attica was Cecrops, and the country was named Cecropia after him, whereas it had formerly been called Actice (*sic*, after an aboriginal named Actaeus. Pausanias (i. 2. 6) represents this Actaeus as the first king of Attica, and says that Cecrops succeeded him on the throne by marrying his daughter. But Pausanias, like Apollodorus (iii. 15. 5), distinguishes this first Cecrops from a later Cecrops, son of Erechtheus (i. 5. 3). Apollodorus is at one with Pausanias in saying that the first Cecrops married the daughter of Actaeus, and he names her Agraulus (see below, iii. 14. 2). Philochorus said, with great probability, that there never was any such person as Actaeus; according to him, Attica lay waste and depopulated from the deluge in the time of Ogyges down to the reign of Cecrops. See Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelii*, x. 10. J. Tzetzes (*Chiliades*, v. 637) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 48) agree in representing Cecrops as the first king of Attica; Hyginus calls him a son of the earth. As to his double form, the upper part of him being human and the lower part serpentine, see Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 438, with the Scholiast; Euripides, *Ion*, 1163 *sq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 111; *id. Chiliades*, v. 638 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 773; Diodorus Siculus, i. 28. 7, who rationalizes the fable after his usual fashion.

αἷς ἔμελλον ἔχειν τιμὰς ἰδίας ἕκαστος. ἦκεν οὖν πρῶτος Ποσειδῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ πλήξας τῇ τριαίνῃ κατὰ μέσην τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀπέφηνε θάλασσαν, ἣν νῦν Ἐρεχθηίδα καλοῦσι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἦκεν Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ ποιησαμένη τῆς καταλήψεως Κέκροπα μάρτυρα ἐφύτευσεν ἐλαίαν, ἣ νῦν ἐν τῷ Πανδροσείῳ[1] δείκνυται. γενομένης δὲ ἔριδος ἀμφοῖν περὶ τῆς χώρας, διαλύσας Ζεὺς

[1] Πανδροσείῳ Bekker: πανδροσίῳ EA.

[1] As to the contest between Poseidon and Athena for possession of Attica, see Herodotus, viii. 55; Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 19; Pausanias, i. 24. 5, i. 26. 5; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 70 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 164; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 12; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* vii. 185; *Scriptorum rerum mythicarum Latin.*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 1, 115 (First Vatican Mythographer, 2; Second Vatican Mythographer, 119). A rationalistic explanation of the fable was propounded by the eminent Roman antiquary Varro. According to him, the olive tree suddenly appeared in Attica, and at the same time there was an eruption of water in another part of the country. So king Cecrops sent to inquire of Apollo at Delphi what these portents might signify. The oracle answered that the olive and the water were the symbols of Athena and Poseidon respectively, and that the people of Attica were free to choose which of these deities they would worship. Accordingly the question was submitted to a general assembly of the citizens and citizenesses; for in these days women had the vote as well as men. All the men voted for the god, and all the women voted for the goddess; and as there was one more woman than there were men, the goddess appeared at the head of the poll. Chagrined at the loss of the election, the male candidate flooded the country with the water of the sea, and to appease his wrath it was decided to deprive women of the vote and to forbid children to bear their mother's names for the future. See Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 9. The print of Poseidon's trident on the rock of the acropolis at Athens was shown

cities in which each of them should receive his own peculiar worship. So Poseidon was the first that came to Attica, and with a blow of his trident on the middle of the acropolis, he produced a sea which they now call Erechtheis.[1] After him came Athena, and, having called on Cecrops to witness her act of taking possession, she planted an olive-tree, which is still shown in the Pandrosium.[2] But when the two strove for possession of the country, Zeus parted

down to late times. See Strabo, ix. 1. 16, p. 396; Pausanias, i. 26. 5. The "sea," which the god was supposed to have produced as evidence of his right to the country was also to be seen within the Erechtheum on the acropolis; Pausanias calls it a well of sea water, and says that, when the south wind blew, the well gave forth a sound of waves. See Herodotus, viii. 55; Pausanias, i. 26. 5, viii. 10. 4. According to the late Latin mythographers (see the references above), Poseidon produced a horse from the rock in support of his claim, and this version of the story seems to have been accepted by Virgil (*Georg.* i. 12 *sqq.*), but it is not countenanced by Greek writers. The Athenians said that the contest between Poseidon and Athena took place on the second of the month Boedromion, and hence they omitted that day from the calendar. See Plutarch, *De fraterno amore*, 11; *id. Quaest. Conviv.* ix. 6. The unlucky Poseidon also contested the possession of Argos with Hera, and when the judges gave a verdict against him and in favour of the goddess, he took his revenge, as in Attica, by flooding the country. See Pausanias, ii. 22. 4; compare *id.* ii. 15. 5; Polemo, *Greek History*, cited by the Scholiast on Aristides, vol. iii. p. 322, ed. G. Dindorf.

[2] The olive-tree seems to have survived down to the second century of our era. See Herodotus, viii. 55; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *De Dinarcho Judicium*, 3; Pausanias, i. 27. 3; Cicero, *De legibus*, i. 1. 2; Hyginus, *Fab.* 164; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 240. Dionysius agrees with Apollodorus in representing the tree as growing in the Pandrosium, which is proved by inscriptions to have been an enclosure to the west of the Erechtheum. See my commentary on Pausanias, vol. ii. p. 337.

κριτὰς ἔδωκεν,[1] οὐχ ὡς εἰπόν τινες, Κέκροπα καὶ Κραναόν,[2] οὐδὲ Ἐρυσίχθονα, θεοὺς δὲ τοὺς δώδεκα. καὶ τούτων δικαζόντων ἡ χώρα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐκρίθη, Κέκροπος μαρτυρήσαντος ὅτι πρώτη[3] τὴν ἐλαίαν ἐφύτευσεν. Ἀθηνᾶ μὲν οὖν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς τὴν πόλιν ἐκάλεσεν Ἀθήνας, Ποσειδῶν δὲ θυμῷ ὀργισθεὶς τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον ἐπέκλυσε καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὕφαλον ἐποίησε.

2 Κέκροψ δὲ γήμας τὴν Ἀκταίου κόρην Ἄγραυλον παῖδα μὲν ἔσχεν Ἐρυσίχθονα, ὃς ἄτεκνος μετήλλαξε, θυγατέρας δὲ Ἄγραυλον Ἔρσην Πάνδροσον. Ἀγραύλου μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἄρεος Ἀλκιππη γίνεται. ταύτην βιαζόμενος Ἁλιρρόθιος, ὁ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ νύμφης Εὐρύτης, ὑπὸ Ἄρεος φωραθεὶς κτείνεται. Ποσειδῶνος δὲ <εἰσάγοντος> ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ κρίνεται δικαζόντων τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν Ἄρης[4] καὶ ἀπολύεται.

[1] Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι κριτὰς δεδωκεν ὁ Ζεὺς E: Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα διαλύσας Ζεὺς κριτὰς ἔδωκε A: Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι διαλύσας Ζεὺς κριτὰς ἔδωκε Wagner. The words Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι (or Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ποσειδῶνα) appear to be a gloss on the preceding ἄμφω, as Heyne perceived. Accordingly I have omitted them with Hercher.

[2] Κραναὸν Aegius: δαναὸν A.

[3] πρώτη ER (compend.), Hercher, Wagner: πρῶτον A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

[4] Ποσειδῶνος δὲ <εἰσάγοντος> ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ κρίνεται δικαζόντων τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν Ἄρης Scaliger: Ποσειδῶν δὲ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ κρίνεται, δικαζόντων τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, Ἄρει Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner. But the construction κρίνεσθαί τινι in the sense of "bring a person to trial" is impossible, and the abrupt change of nominative from κρίνεται (Ποσειδῶν) to ἀπολύεται (Ἄρης) is very harsh, if not intolerable. Scaliger's emendation certainly gives the right sense and may be verbally correct also. The accidental omission of εἰσάγοντος would not be difficult. The emendation is recorded, but not accepted, by Heyne.

them and appointed arbiters, not, as some have affirmed, Cecrops and Cranaus, nor yet Erysichthon, but the twelve gods.[1] And in accordance with their verdict the country was adjudged to Athena, because Cecrops bore witness that she had been the first to plant the olive. Athena, therefore, called the city Athens after herself, and Poseidon in hot anger flooded the Thriasian plain and laid Attica under the sea.[2]

Cecrops married Agraulus, daughter of Actaeus, and had a son Erysichthon, who departed this life childless; and Cecrops had daughters, Agraulus, Herse, and Pandrosus.[3] Agraulus had a daughter Alcippe by Ares. In attempting to violate Alcippe, Halirrhothius, son of Poseidon and a nymph Euryte, was detected and killed by Ares.[4] Impeached by Poseidon, Ares was tried in the Areopagus before the twelve gods, and was acquitted.[5]

[1] Compare Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 72 *sq.*

[2] As to this flood, see Varro, in Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 9; Hyginus, *Fab.* 164. The Thriasian plain is the plain in which Eleusis stands. See Strabo, ix. i. 6, p. 392, ix. i. 13, p. 395.

[3] Compare Pausanias, i. 2. 6; Hyginus, *Fab.* 146; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 737 *sqq.* All these writers call the first of the daughters Aglaurus instead of Agraulus, and the form Aglaurus is confirmed by inscriptions on two Greek vases (*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. iv. p. 146, Nos. 7716, 7718).

[4] Compare Pausanias, i. 21. 4; Stephanus Byzantius and Suidas, *s.v.* Ἄρειος πάγος; Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. i. p. 444, lines 8 *sqq.* From the three latter writers we learn that the story was told by the historians Philochorus and Hellanicus, whom Apollodorus may here be following.

[5] See Euripides, *Ion*, 1258 *sqq.*, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 945 *sq.*; Demosthenes, xxiii. 66, p. 641; *Parian Chronicle* (*Marmor Parium*), lines 5 *sq.*; Pausanias, i. 28. 5; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 1648, 1651. The name Areopagus was

3 "Ερσης δὲ καὶ Ἐνμοῦ Κέφαλος, οὗ ἐρασθεῖσα Ἠὼς ἥρπασε καὶ μιγεῖσα ἐν Συρίᾳ παῖδα ἐγέννησε Τιθωνόν, οὗ παῖς ἐγένετο Φαέθων, τούτου δὲ Ἀστύνοος, τοῦ δὲ Σάνδοκος,[1] ὃς ἐκ Συρίας ἐλθὼν εἰς Κιλικίαν, πόλιν ἔκτισε Κελένδεριν, καὶ γήμας Φαρνάκην[2] τὴν Μεγασσάρου τοῦ Τριέων βασιλέως[3] ἐγέννησε Κινύραν.[4] οὗτος ἐν Κύπρῳ,

[1] Σάνδοκος RR^{a}*C*: σάνδακος *B*.

[2] Φαρνάκη Muncker (on Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 34, p. 277, ed. Koch, comparing Hesychius, *s.v.* Κινύρας· Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Φαρνάκης παῖς): θαυακην RR^{a}: θυτάκην A.

[3] των Τριεων βασιλεως Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: τοῦ συρίων βασιλέως R: τῶν συρίων βασιλέα A.

[4] Κινύραν R: κινύρας A.

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commonly supposed to mean "the hill of Ares" and explained by the tradition that Ares was the first to be tried for murder before the august tribunal. But more probably, perhaps, the name meant "the hill of curses." See my note on Pausanias i. 28. 5 (vol. ii pp. 363 *sq.*). For other legendary or mythical trials in the court of the Areopagus, see below, iii. 15. 1, iii. 15. 9.

[1] See above, i. 9. 4, note, where Cephalus is said to have been a son of Deion by Diomede; compare ii. 4. 7, iii. 15. 1. Pausanias also calls Cephalus a son of Deion (i. 37. 6, x. 29. 6), and so does Antoninus Liberalis (*Transform.* 41). The Scholiast on Homer (*Od.* xi. 321) calls his father Deioneus. Hyginus in two passages (*Fab.* 189, 270) describes Cephalus as a son of Deion, and in another passage (*Fab.* 160) as a son of Hermes (Mercury) by Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus. Euripides tells how "Dawn with her lovely light once snatched up Cephalus to the gods, all for love" (*Hippolytus*, 454 *sqq.*).

[2] According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 986 *sqq.*) and Pausanias (i. 3. 1), Phaethon was a son of Cephalus and the Dawn or Day. According to another and seemingly more usual account the father of Phaethon was the Sun. See Diodorus Siculus, v. 23; Pausanias, i. 4. 1, ii. 3. 2; Lucian, *Dialog. deorum*, xxv. 1; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, iv. 357 *sqq.*; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 325, p. 1689; Scholiast on Homer,

Herse had by Hermes a son Cephalus, whom Dawn loved and carried off,[1] and consorting with him in Syria bore a son Tithonus, who had a son Phaethon,[2] who had a son Astynous, who had a son Sandocus, who passed from Syria to Cilicia and founded a city Celenderis, and having married Pharnace, daughter of Megassares, king of Hyria, begat Cinyras.[3] This Cinyras in Cyprus, whither he had come with

Od. xvii. 208; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 19 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 152, 156; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* i. 221; *Scholia in Caesaris Germanici Aratea*, p. 421, ed. Fr. Eyssenhardt, in his edition of Martianus Capella; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 37, 93, 208 (First Vatican Mythographer, 118; Second Vatican Mythographer, 57; Third Vatican Mythographer, iii 8. 14); Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* x. 189. The mother who bore him to the Sun is usually called Clymene (so Lucian, Tzetzes, Eustathius, Ovid, Hyginus, Lactantius Placidus, the Vatican mythographers, and Servius); but the Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*) calls her Rhode, daughter of Asopus. Clymene herself, the mother of Phaethon, is said to have been a daughter of Ocean and Tethys (J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, iv. 359; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 156) or of Iphys or Minyas (Eustathius, *l.c.*). Apollodorus passes over in silence the famous story how Phaethon borrowed the chariot of the Sun for a day, and driving too near the earth set it on fire, and how in his wild career he was struck dead by Zeus with a thunderbolt and fell into the river Eridanus, where his sisters mourned for him till they were turned into poplar trees, their tears being changed into drops of amber which exuded from the trees. The story is told at great length and with many picturesque details by Ovid (*Metamorph.* ii. 1 *sqq.*). Compare Lucretius, v. 396 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, Lucian, the Scholiast on Homer, Hyginus, and the Latin Mythographers, *ll.cc.* Euripides wrote a tragedy on the subject, of which some considerable fragments survive. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp 599 *sqq.* For some similar stories, see Appendix, "Phaethon and the Chariot of the Sun."

[3] According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 142), Cinyras was a son of Paphus.

παραγενόμενος σὺν λαῷ, ἔκτισε Πάφον, γήμας δὲ ἐκεῖ Μεθάρμην, κόρην Πυγμαλίωνος Κυπρίων βασιλέως. Ὀξύπορον ἐγέννησε καὶ Ἄδωνιν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις θυγατέρας Ὀρσεδίκην <καὶ> Λαωγόρην καὶ Βραισίαν. αὗται δὲ διὰ μῆνιν Ἀφροδίτης ἀλλοτρίοις ἀνδράσι συνευναζόμεναι τὸν βίον ἐν
4 Λιγύπτῳ μετήλλαξαν. Ἄδωνις δὲ ἔτι παῖς ὢν Ἀρτέμιδος χόλῳ πληγεὶς ἐν θήρᾳ[1] ὑπὸ συὸς ἀπέθανεν. Ἡσίοδος δὲ αὐτὸν Φοίνικος καὶ Ἀλφεσιβοίας λέγει, Πανύασις[2] δέ φησι Θείαντος

[1] θήρᾳ Heyne (conjecture), Hercher, Wagner: θηρᾳ RR[a]: θήραις A, Heyne (in text), Westermann, Muller, Bekker.
[2] πανύασσος A.

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[1] A different and apparently more prevalent tradition represented Adonis as the son of Cinyras by incestuous intercourse with his daughter Myrrha or Smyrna. See Scholiast on Theocritus, i. 107; Plutarch, *Parallela*, 22; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 34 (who, however, differs as to the name of Smyrna's father); Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 298 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 58, 164; Fulgentius, *Mythology.* iii. 8; Lactantius Placidus, *Narrat. Fabul.* x. 9; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* x. 18, and on *Aen.* v. 72; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol i. p. 60 (First Vatican Mythographer, 200). Similar cases of incest with a daughter are frequently reported of royal houses in antiquity. They perhaps originated in a rule of transmitting the crown through women instead of through men; for under such a rule a widowed king would be under a strong temptation to marry his own daughter as the only means of maintaining himself legitimately on the throne after the death of his wife. See *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed., i. 43 *sq.* The legend of the incestuous origin of Adonis is mentioned, on the authority of Panyasis, by Apollodorus himself a little lower down.

[2] Compare Bion, *Idyl.* i.; Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, 28; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* iv. 5. 3, § 8; Athenaeus, ii. 80, p. 69 B; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*,

some people, founded Paphos; and having there married Metharme, daughter of Pygmalion, king of Cyprus, he begat Oxyporus and Adonis,[1] and besides them daughters, Orsedice, Laogore, and Braesia. These by reason of the wrath of Aphrodite cohabited with foreigners, and ended their life in Egypt. And Adonis, while still a boy, was wounded and killed in hunting by a boar through the anger of Artemis.[2] Hesiod, however, affirms that he was a son of Phoenix and Alphesiboea; and Panyasis says that he was a son

831; Aristides, *Apology*, ed. J. Rendel Harris (Cambridge, 1891), pp. 44, 106 *sq.*; Propertius, iii. 4 (5) 53 *sq.*, ed. F. A. Paley; Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 710 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 248; Macrobius, *Saturnal.* i. 21. 4; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 17; Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum*, 9; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, vi. 7. There are some grounds for thinking that formerly Adonis and his Babylonian prototype Tammuz were conceived in the form of a boar, and that the story of his death by a boar was only a misinterpretation of this older conception. See *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, ii. 22 *sq.*; C. F. Burney, *The Book of Judges* (London, 1918), pp. xvii *sqq.*, who refers to "the brilliant discovery of Ball (*PSBA.* xvi. 1894, pp. 195 *sqq.*) that the Sumerian name of Tammuz, DUMU.ZI (Bab. *Du'ûzu*, *Dûzu*) is identical with the Turkish *dōmūz* 'pig,' and that there is thus an 'original identity of the god with the wild boar that slays him in the developed legend.'" W. Robertson Smith, as Professor Burney points out, had many years ago expressed the view that "the Cyprian Adonis was originally the Swine god, and in this as in many other cases the sacred victim has been changed by false interpretation into the enemy of the god" (*Religion of the Semites*, New Edition, London, 1894, p. 411, note[4]). The view is confirmed by the observation that the worshippers of Adonis would seem to have abstained from eating swine's flesh. See W. W. Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* (Leipsic, 1911), p. 142, quoting *SS. Cyri et Joannis Miracula*, in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, lxxxvii. 3, col. 3624.

βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων, ὃς ἔσχε θυγατέρα Σμύρναν. αὕτη κατὰ μῆνιν Ἀφροδίτης (οὐ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐτίμα) ἴσχει τοῦ πατρὸς ἔρωτα, καὶ συνεργὸν λαβοῦσα τὴν τροφὸν ἀγνοοῦντι τῷ πατρὶ νύκτας δώδεκα συνευνάσθη. ὁ δὲ ὡς ᾔσθετο, σπασάμενος <τὸ>[1] ξίφος ἐδίωκεν αὐτήν· ἡ δὲ περικαταλαμβανομένη θεοῖς ηὔξατο ἀφανὴς γενέσθαι. θεοὶ δὲ κατοικτείραντες αὐτὴν εἰς δένδρον μετήλλαξαν, ὃ καλοῦσι σμύρναν.[2] δεκαμηνιαίῳ δὲ ὕστερον χρόνῳ τοῦ δένδρου ῥαγέντος γεννηθῆναι τὸν λεγόμενον Ἄδωνιν, ὃν Ἀφροδίτη διὰ κάλλος ἔτι νήπιον κρύφα θεῶν εἰς λάρνακα κρύψασα Περσεφόνῃ παρέστατο. ἐκείνη δὲ ὡς ἐθεάσατο, οὐκ ἀπεδίδου. κρίσεως δὲ ἐπὶ Διὸς γενομένης εἰς τρεῖς μοίρας διηρέθη ὁ ἐνιαυτός, καὶ μίαν μὲν παρ' ἑαυτῷ μένειν τὸν Ἄδωνιν, μίαν δὲ παρὰ Περσεφόνῃ προσέταξε, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν παρ' Ἀφροδίτῃ· ὁ δὲ

[1] τὸ added by Hercher.
[2] σμύρναν R^a: μύρναν *B*, μύρνας *C*.

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[1] According to Antoninus Liberalis (*Transform.* 34), Smyrna, the mother of Adonis, was a daughter of Belus by a nymph Orithyia. Tzetzes mentions, but afterwards rejects, the view that Myrrha, the mother of Adonis, was a daughter of Thias. *Schol. on Lycophron*, 829, 831). Hyginus says that Cinyras, the father of Adonis, was king of Assyria (*Fab.* 58). This traditional connexion of Adonis with Assyria may well be due to a well founded belief that the religion of Adonis, though best known to the Greeks in Syria and Cyprus, had originated in Assyria or rather in Babylonia, where he was worshipped under the name of Dumuzi or Tammuz. See *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed., i. 6 *sqq.*

[2] As to the transformation of the mother of Adonis into a myrrh-tree, see Scholiast on Theocritus, i. 107; Plutarch, *Parallela*, 22; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 34; Tzetzes,

of Thias, king of Assyria,[1] who had a daughter Smyrna. In consequence of the wrath of Aphrodite, for she did not honour the goddess, this Smyrna conceived a passion for her father, and with the complicity of her nurse she shared her father's bed without his knowledge for twelve nights. But when he was aware of it, he drew his sword and pursued her, and being overtaken she prayed to the gods that she might be invisible; so the gods in compassion turned her into the tree which they call *smyrna* (myrrh).[2] Ten months afterwards the tree burst and Adonis, as he is called, was born, whom for the sake of his beauty, while he was still an infant, Aphrodite hid in a chest unknown to the gods and entrusted to Persephone. But when Persephone beheld him, she would not give him back. The case being tried before Zeus, the year was divided into three parts, and the god ordained that Adonis should stay by himself for one part of the year, with Persephone for one part, and with Aphrodite for the remainder.[3]

Schol. on Lycophron, 829; Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 476 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 58, 164; Fulgentius, *Mythol.* iii. 8; Lactantius Placidus, *Narrat. Fabul.* x 9; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* x. 18 and *Aen.* v. 72; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 60 (First Vatican Mythographer, 200). The drops of gum which oozed from the myrrh-tree were thought to be the tears shed by the transformed Myrrha for her sad fate (Ovid, *l.c.* 500 *sqq.*).

[3] According to another version of the story, Aphrodite and Persephone referred their dispute about Adonis to the judgment of Zeus, and he appointed the Muse Calliope to act as arbitrator between them. She decided that Adonis should spend half the year with each of them; but the decision so enraged Aphrodite that in revenge she instigated the Thracian women to rend in pieces Calliope's son, the musician Orpheus. See Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 6. A Scholiast on Theocritus (*Id.* iii. 48) reports the common saying that the dead Adonis

Ἄδωνις ταύτῃ προσέσεισε καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν μοῖραν. ὕστερον δὲ θηρεύων Ἄδωνις ὑπὸ συὸς πληγεὶς ἀπέθανε.

Κέκροπος δὲ ἀποθανόντος Κραναὸς <ἐβασίλευσεν>[1] αὐτόχθων ὤν, ἐφ' οὗ τὸν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος λέγεται κατακλυσμὸν γενέσθαι. οὗτος γήμας ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος Πεδιάδα τὴν Μύνητος[2] ἐγέννησε Κραναίην καὶ Κραναίχμην καὶ Ἀτθίδα, ἧς ἀποθανούσης ἔτι παρθένου τὴν χώραν Κραναὸς Ἀτθίδα προσηγόρευσε.

6 Κραναὸν δὲ ἐκβαλὼν Ἀμφικτύων ἐβασίλευσε· τοῦτον ἔνιοι μὲν Δευκαλίωνος, ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτόχθονα[3] λέγουσι. βασιλεύσαντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἔτη[4] ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκα Ἀμφικτύονος ἐκβάλλει. τοῦτον οἱ μὲν Ἡφαίστου καὶ τῆς Κραναοῦ θυγατρὸς Ἀτθίδος εἶναι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς, οὕτως· Ἀθηνᾶ παρεγένετο πρὸς Ἥφαιστον, ὅπλα κατασκευάσαι θέλουσα. ὁ δὲ ἐγκαταλελειμμένος[5] ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ὤλισθε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς,

[1] ἐβασίλευσεν conjecturally inserted by Gale.
[2] Μύνητος Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: μήνυτος A.
[3] αὐτόχθονα R^A: αὐτόχθονος A.
[4] ἔτη L: ἐπὶ A.
[5] ἐγκαταλελειμμένος E: ἐγκαταλελεγμένος A.

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spends six months of the year in the arms of Persephone, and six months in the arms of Aphrodite; and he explains the saying as a mythical description of the corn, which after sowing is six months in the earth and six months above ground.

[1] Compare Pausanias, i. 2. 6.

[2] According to the *Parian Chronicle* (lines 4–7), Deucalion reigned at Lycorea on Mount Parnassus, and when the flood, following on heavy rains, took place in that district, he fled for safety to king Cranaus at Athens, where he founded a

However Adonis made over to Aphrodite his own share in addition; but afterwards in hunting he was gored and killed by a boar.

When Cecrops died, Cranaus came to the throne[1]; he was a son of the soil, and it was in his time that the flood in the age of Deucalion is said to have taken place.[2] He married a Lacedaemonian wife, Pedias, daughter of Mynes, and begat Cranae, Cranaechme, and Atthis; and when Atthis died a maid, Cranaus called the country Atthis.[3]

Cranaus was expelled by Amphictyon, who reigned in his stead;[4] some say that Amphictyon was a son of Deucalion, others that he was a son of the soil; and when he had reigned twelve years he was expelled by Erichthonius.[5] Some say that this Erichthonius was a son of Hephaestus and Atthis, daughter of Cranaus, and some that he was a son of Hephaestus and Athena, as follows: Athena came to Hephaestus, desirous of fashioning arms. But he, being forsaken by Aphrodite, fell in love with Athena, and began to pursue

sanctuary of Rainy Zeus and offered thank offerings for his escape. Compare Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. ii. p. 26, ed. A. Schoene. We have seen that, according to Apollodorus (iii. 8. 2), the flood happened in the reign of Nyctimus, king of Arcadia.

[3] Compare Pausanias, i. 2. 6; Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. ii. p. 28, ed. A. Schoene.

[4] Compare the *Parian Chronicle*, lines 8–10; Pausanias, i. 2. 6; Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. ii. p. 39, ed. A. Schoene. The Parian Chronicle represents Amphictyon as a son of Deucalion and as reigning, first at Thermopylae, and then at Athens; but it records nothing as to his revolt against Cranaus. Pausanias says that Amphictyon deposed Cranaus, although he had the daughter of Cranaus to wife. Eusebius says that Amphictyon was a son of Deucalion and son-in-law of Cranaus.

[5] Compare Pausanias, i. 2. 6.

καὶ διώκειν αὐτὴν ἤρξατο· ἡ δὲ ἔφευγεν. ὡς δὲ ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο πολλῇ ἀνάγκῃ (ἦν γὰρ χωλός), ἐπειρᾶτο συνελθεῖν. ἡ δὲ ὡς σώφρων καὶ παρθένος οὖσα οὐκ ἠνέσχετο· ὁ δὲ ἀπεσπέρμηνεν εἰς τὸ σκέλος τῆς θεᾶς. ἐκείνη δὲ μυσαχθεῖσα ἐρίῳ ἀπομάξασα τὸν γόνον εἰς γῆν ἔρριψε. φευγούσης δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς γονῆς εἰς γῆν πεσούσης Ἐριχθόνιος γίνεται. τοῦτον Ἀθηνᾶ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἔτρεφεν, ἀθάνατον θέλουσα ποιῆσαι· καὶ καταθεῖσα αὐτὸν εἰς κίστην Πανδρόσῳ τῇ Κέκροπος παρακατέθετο, ἀπειποῦσα τὴν κίστην ἀνοίγειν. αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ τῆς Πανδρόσου ἀνοίγουσιν ὑπὸ περιεργίας, καὶ θεῶνται τῷ βρέφει παρεσπειραμένον δράκοντα· καὶ ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διεφθάρησαν τοῦ δράκοντος, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι, δι' ὀργὴν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐμμανεῖς γενόμεναι κατὰ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως αὑτὰς ἔρριψαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ τεμένει τραφεὶς Ἐριχθόνιος

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[1] With this story of the birth of Erichthonius compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 547 (who agrees to a great extent verbally with Apollodorus); Euripides, *Ion*, 20 *sqq.*, 266 *sqq.*; Eratosthenes, *Catasterismi*, 13; Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci*, *Appendix Narrationum*, 3, pp. 359 *sq.*; Tzetzes, *Scholia on Lycophron*, 111; Antigonus Carystius, *Historiae Mirabiles*, 12; *Etymologicum Magnum*, *s.v.* Ἐρεχθεύς, p. 371. 29; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 166; *id. Astronomica*, ii. 13; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 113; Fulgentius, *Mythologiae*, ii. 14; Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones*, ii. 17; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 12; *Scholia in Caesaris Germanici Aratea*, p. 394, ed. Fr. Eyssenhardt (in his edition of Martianus Capella); *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 41, 86 *sq.*, 88 (First Vatican Mythographer, 128; Second Vatican Mythographer, 37, 40). The story of the birth of Erichthonius was told by Euripides, according to Eratosthenes (*l.c.*) and by Callimachus, according to the Scholiast on

her; but she fled. When he got near her with much ado (for he was lame), he attempted to embrace her; but she, being a chaste virgin, would not submit to him, and he dropped his seed on the leg of the goddess. In disgust, she wiped off the seed with wool and threw it on the ground; and as she fled and the seed fell on the ground, Erichthonius was produced.[1] Him Athena brought up unknown to the other gods, wishing to make him immortal; and having put him in a chest, she committed it to Pandrosus, daughter of Cecrops, forbidding her to open the chest. But the sisters of Pandrosus opened it out of curiosity, and beheld a serpent coiled about the babe; and, as some say, they were destroyed by the serpent, but according to others they were driven mad by reason of the anger of Athena and threw themselves down from the acropolis.[2] Having been brought up by Athena

Homer (*l.c.*). Pausanias was plainly acquainted with the fable, though he contents himself with saying that Erichthonius was reported to be a son of Hephaestus and Earth (i. 2. 6, i. 14. 6). As C. G. Heyne long ago observed, the story is clearly an etymological myth invented to explain the meaning of the name Erichthonius, which some people derived from ἔρις, "strife," and χθών, "the ground," while others derived it from ἔριον, "wool," and χθών, "the ground." The former derivation of *eri* in Erichthonius seems to have been the more popular. Mythologists have perhaps not sufficiently reckoned with the extent to which false etymology has been operative in the creation of myths. "Disease of language" is one source of myths, though it is very far from being the only one.

[2] With this story of the discovery of Erichthonius in the chest compare Euripides, *Ion*, 20 *sqq.*, 266 *sqq.*; Pausanias, i. 18. 2; Antigonus Carystius, *Hist. Mirab.* 12; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 552 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 166; *id. Astronom.* ii. 13; Fulgentius, *Mythol.* ii. 14; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 17; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 41, 86 *sq.*, 88 (First Vatican Mythographer, 128;

ὑπ' αὐτῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐκβαλὼν Ἀμφικτύονα ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀθηνῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐν ἀκροπόλει ξόανον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱδρύσατο, καὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων τὴν ἑορτὴν συνεστήσατο, καὶ Πραξιθέαν[1] νηίδα

[1] Πραξιθέαν Heyne : πρασιθέαι A : Πασιθέαν Aegius. Tzetzes calls her Φρατιθεα (*Chiliades*, i. 174, v. 671), but mentions Πραξιθέα as the wife of Erechtheus and mother of Cecrops (*Chiliades*, i. 177, v. 674).

Second Vatican Mythographer, 37. 40). Apollodorus apparently describes the infant Erichthonius in the chest as a purely human babe with a serpent coiled about him. The serpent was said to have been set by Athena to guard the infant; according to Euripides (*Ion*, 20 *sqq.*), there were two such guardian serpents. But according to a common tradition Erichthonius was serpent footed, that is, his legs ended in serpents. See Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci*, *Appendix Narrationum*, 3, p. 360; *Etymologicum Magnum*, *s.v.* Ερεχθεύς, p. 371. 47; Hyginus, *Fab.* 166; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 113; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 41, 87 (First Vatican Mythographer, 128, Second Vatican Mythographer 37). Indeed, in one passage (*Astronom.* ii. 13) Hyginus affirms that Erichthonius was born a serpent, and that when the box was opened and the maidens saw the serpent in it, they went mad and threw themselves from the acropolis, while the serpent took refuge under the shield of Athena and was reared by the goddess. This view of the identity of Erichthonius with the serpent was recognized, if not accepted, by Pausanias; for in describing the famous statue of the Virgin Athena on the acropolis of Athens, he notices the serpent coiled at her feet behind the shield, and adds that the serpent "may be Erichthonius" (i. 24. 7). The sacred serpent which lived in the Erechtheum on the acropolis of Athens and was fed with honey-cakes once a month, may have been Erichthonius himself in his original form of a worshipful serpent. See Herodotus, viii. 41; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 758 *sq.*, with the Scholiast; Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 10; Philostratus, *Imagines*, ii. 17. 6; Hesychius, *s.vv.* δράκαυλος and οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν; Suidas, *s.v.* Δράκαυλος; *Etymo-*

herself in the precinct,[1] Erichthonius expelled Amphictyon and became king of Athens; and he set up the wooden image of Athena in the acropolis,[2] and instituted the festival of the Panathenaea,[3] and

logicum Magnum, *s.v.* δράκαυλος, p. 287; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν; Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* i. 357, p. 1422, lines 7 *sqq.* According to some, there were two such sacred serpents in the Erechtheum (Hesychius, *s.v.* οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν). When we remember that Cecrops, the ancestor of Erichthonius, was said, like his descendant, to be half-man, half-serpent (above, iii. 14. 1), we may conjecture that the old kings of Athens claimed kinship with the sacred serpents on the acropolis, into which they may have professed to transmigrate at death. Compare *The Dying God*, pp. 86 *sq.*; and my note on Pausanias, i. 18. 2 (vol ii. pp. 168 *sqq.*). The Erechtheids, or descendants of Erechtheus, by whom are meant the Athenians in general, used to put golden serpents round the necks or bodies of their infants, nominally in memory of the serpents which guarded the infant Erichthonius, but probably in reality as amulets to protect the children. See Euripides, *Ion*, 20–26, 1426–1431. Erechtheus and Erichthonius may have been originally identical. See Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 547; *Etymologicum Magnum*, *s.v.* Ἐρεχθεύς, p. 371. 29; C. F. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. i. p. 61 note [n].

[1] "The precinct" is the Erechtheum on the acropolis of Athens. It was in the Erechtheum that the sacred serpent dwelt, which seems to have been originally identical with Erichthonius. See the preceding note.

[2] That is, the ancient image of Athena, made of olive-wood, which stood in the Erechtheum. See my note on Pausanias, i. 26. 6 (vol. ii. pp. 340 *sq.*).

[3] Compare the *Parian Chronicle*, line 18; Harpocration, *s.v.* Παναθήναια; Eratosthenes, *Catasterismi*, 13; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 13, who says that Erichthonius competed at the games in a four-horse car. Indeed, Erichthonius was reputed to have invented the chariot, or, at all events, the four-horse chariot. See the *Parian Chronicle*, lines 18 and 21; Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. ii. p. 32, ed. A. Schoene; Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 113 *sq.*; Fulgentius, *Mythologiae*, ii. 14. According to some, he invented the chariot for the purpose of

νύμφην ἔγημεν, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ παῖς Πανδίων ἐγεννήθη.

7 Ἐριχθονίου δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ ταφέντος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ[1] τεμένει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Παναθήναια ἐβασίλευσεν, ἐφ' οὗ Δημήτηρ καὶ Διόνυσος εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἦλθον. ἀλλὰ Δήμητρα μὲν Κελεὸς [εἰς

[1] τῷ αὐτῷ Scaliger, Wagner : τῷ ὁ R[a] : τῷ ἁ τῷ A.

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concealing his serpent feet. See Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 113; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 41, 87 (First Vatican Mythographer, 127; Second Vatican Mythographer, 37). The institution of the Panathenaic festival was by some attributed to Theseus (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 24), but the *Parian Chronicle* (line 18), in agreement with Apollodorus, ascribes it to Erichthonius; and from Harpocration (*loc.* we learn that this ascription was supported by the authority of the historians Hellanicus and Androtion in their works on Attica. Here, therefore, as usual, Apollodorus seems to have drawn on the best sources.

[1] Compare Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iii. 45, p. 39, ed. Potter, who gives a list of legendary or mythical personages who were said to have been buried in sanctuaries or temples. Amongst the instances which he cites are the graves of Cinyras and his descendants in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphus, and the grave of Acrisius in the temple of Athena on the acropolis of Larissa. To these examples C. G. Heyne, commenting on the present passage of Apollodorus, adds the tomb of Castor in a sanctuary at Sparta (Pausanias, iii. 13. 1), the tomb of Hyacinth under the image of Apollo at Amyclae (Pausanias, iii. 19. 3), and the grave of Areas in a temple of Hera at Mantinea (Pausanias, viii. 9. 3). "Arguing from these examples," says Heyne, "some have tried to prove that the worship of the gods sprang from the honours paid to buried mortals."

[2] Compare Pausanias, i. 5. 3, who distinguishes two kings named Pandion, first, the son of Erichthonius, and, second,

married Praxithea, a Naiad nymph, by whom he had a son Pandion.

When Erichthonius died and was buried in the same precinct of Athena,[1] Pandion[2] became king, in whose time Demeter and Dionysus came to Attica.[3] But Demeter was welcomed by Celeus at Eleusis,[4] and

the son of Cecrops the Second. This distinction is accepted by Apollodorus (see below, iii. 15. 5), and it is supported by the *Parian Chronicle* (*Marmor Parium*, lines 22 and 30). Eusebius also recognizes Pandion the Second, but makes him a son of Erechtheus instead of a son of Cecrops the Second (*Chronic.* bk i. vol. i. col. 185, ed. A. Schoene). But like Cecrops the Second, son of Erechtheus (below, iii. 15. 5), Pandion the Second is probably no more than a chronological stop-gap thrust into the broken framework of tradition by a comparatively late historian. Compare R. D. Hicks, in *Companion to Greek Studies*, ed. L. Whibley, 3rd. ed. (Cambridge, 1916), p. 76.

[3] Here Apollodorus differs from the *Parian Chronicle*, which dates the advent of Demeter, not in the reign of Pandion, but in the reign of his son Erechtheus (*Marmor Parium*, lines 23 *sq.*). To the reign of Erechtheus the *Parian Chronicle* also refers the first sowing of corn by Triptolemus in the Rharian plain at Eleusis, and the first celebration of the mysteries by Eumolpus at Eleusis (*Marmor Parium*, lines 23–29). Herein the *Parian Chronicle* seems to be in accord with the received Athenian tradition which dated the advent of Demeter, the beginning of agriculture, and the institution of the Eleusinian mysteries in the reign of Erechtheus. See Diodorus Siculus, i. 29. 1–3. On the other hand, the Parian Chronicler dates the discovery of iron on the Cretan Mount Ida in the reign of Pandion the First (*Marmor Parium*, lines 22 *sq.*). He says nothing of the coming of Dionysus to Attica. The advent of Demeter and Dionysus is a mythical expression for the first cultivation of corn and vines in Attica; these important discoveries Attic tradition referred to the reigns either of Pandion the First or of his son Erechtheus.

[4] See above, i. 5. 1.

τὴν Ἐλευσῖνα][1] *ὑπεδέξατο, Διόνυσον δὲ Ἰκάριος*· *ὃς*[2] *λαμβάνει παρ' αὐτοῦ κλῆμα ἀμπέλου καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰνοποιίαν μανθάνει. καὶ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ δωρήσασθαι θέλων χαριτας ἀνθρώποις, ἀφικνεῖται πρός τινας ποιμένας, οἳ γευσάμενοι τοῦ ποτοῦ καὶ χωρὶς ὕδατος δι' ἡδονὴν ἀφειδῶς ἐλκύσαντες, πεφαρμάχθαι νομίζοντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν. μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ νοήσαντες*[3] *ἔθαψαν αὐτόν. Ἠριγόνη δὲ τῇ θυγατρὶ τὸν πατέρα μαστευούσῃ κύων συνήθης ὄνομα Μαῖρα, ἣ τῷ Ἰκαρίῳ συνείπετο, τὸν τεκροὺν ἐμήνυσε· κἀκείνη κατοδυραμένη*[4] *τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτὴν ἀνήρτησε.*

[1] *εἰς τὴν Ἐλευσῖνα.* These words may be, as Heyne thought, a gloss on *εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν*. They are omitted by Hercher. Wagner keeps them unbracketed.

[2] *ὃς . . . μανθάνει* E : *καὶ . . . μανθάνων* A.

[3] *νοήσαντες* A : *νήψαντες* Valckenar.

[4] *κατοδυραμένη* Hercher : *κατοδυρομένη* Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Wagner.

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[1] The implication is that their wassailing had taken place by night. The Greek *μεθ' ἡμέραν* regularly means "by day" as opposed to "by night", it is not to be translated "the day after." See Herodotus, ii. 150, *οὐ νυκτὸς ἀλλὰ μετ' ἡμέρην ποιεύμενον*; Plato, *Phaedrus*, p. 251 D, *ἐωθινὴν οὖσα οὔτε νυκτὸς δύναται καθεύδειν οὔτε μεθ' ἡμέραν*. Compare Apollodorus, i 9. 18, iii. 5. 6 *πάντας καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν*), iii. 12. 3, *Epitome*, iv. 5, vii. 31 (*μεθ' ἡμέραν αἱρεῖ ἀφαίνουσα, νύκτωρ δὲ ἀναλύουσα*).

[2] With this story of the first introduction of wine into Attica, and its fatal consequences, compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxii. 29; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* vii. 28; Nonnus, *Dionys.* xlvii 34 245; Hyginus, *Fab.* 130; *id. Astronom.* ii. 4; Statius, *Theb.* xi. 644 647, with the comment of Lactantius Placidus on *v.* 644; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 389; Probus, on Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 385; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 6, 94 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 19; Second Vatican Mythographer, 61). The Athenians celebrated a curious festival of

Dionysus by Icarius, who received from him a branch of a vine and learned the process of making wine. And wishing to bestow the god's boons on men, Icarius went to some shepherds, who, having tasted the beverage and quaffed it copiously without water for the pleasure of it, imagined that they were bewitched and killed him; but by day[1] they understood how it was and buried him. When his daughter Erigone was searching for her father, a domestic dog, named Maera, which had attended Icarius, discovered his dead body to her, and she bewailed her father and hanged herself.[2]

swinging, which was supposed to be an expiation for the death of Erigone, who had hanged herself on the same tree at the foot of which she had discovered the dead body of her father Icarius (Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 4). See Hesychius and *Etymologicum Magnum*, *s.v.* Αἰώρα; Athenaeus, xiv. 10, p. 618 E F; Festus, ed. C. O. Müller, p. 194, *s.v.* "Oscillantes." Compare *The Dying God*, pp. 281 *sqq.* However, some thought that the Erigone whose death was thus expiated was not the daughter of Icarius, but the daughter of Aegisthus, who accused Orestes at Athens of the murder of her father and hanged herself when he was acquitted (so *Etymologicum Magnum*, *l.c.*; compare Apollodorus, *Epitome*, vi. 25 with the note). Sophocles wrote a play *Erigone*, but it is doubtful to which of the two Erigones it referred. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 173 *sqq.* The home of Icarius was at Icaria (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἰκαρία). From the description of Statius (*l.c.*) we infer that the place was in the woods of Marathon, and in accordance with this description the site has been discovered in a beautiful wooded dell at the northern foot of the forest-clad slopes of Mount Pentelicus. The place is still appropriately named Dionysos. A rugged precipitous path leads down a wild romantic ravine from the deserted village of Rapentosa to the plain of Marathon situated at a great depth below. Among the inscriptions found on the spot several refer to the worship of Dionysus. See my commentary on Pausanias, vol. ii. pp. 461 *sqq.*, compare p. 442.

8 Παν∂ίων δὲ γήμας Ζευξίππην τῆς μητρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν θυγατέρας μὲν ἐτέκνωσε Πρόκνην καὶ Φιλομήλαν, παῖδας δὲ διδύμους Ἐρεχθέα καὶ Βούτην. πολέμου δὲ ἐνστάντος[1] πρὸς Λάβδακον περὶ γῆς ὅρων ἐπεκαλέσατο βοηθὸν ἐκ Θράκης Τηρέα τὸν Ἄρεος, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον σὺν αὐτῷ κατορθώσας ἔδωκε Τηρεῖ πρὸς γάμον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα Πρόκνην. ὁ δὲ ἐκ ταύτης γεννήσας

[1] ἐνστάντος E: ἐξαναστάντος A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner. But such a use of ἐξαναστὰς seems unparalleled, whereas ἐνστὰς is regularly applied to war breaking out or threatening. See below iii. 15. 4, πολέμου ἐνισταίτος πρὸς Ἀθηναίους: Isocrates, *Or.* v. 2, τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐνστάντα καὶ περὶ τῆ πόλει περὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως; Demosthenes, *Or.* xviii. 89, ὁ γὰ τοτε ἐνστὰς πόλεμος, and 139, οὐκετ' ἐν ἀναβλήτοις τὰ πράγματα ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐνειστήκει πόλεμος; Polybius, i. 71 4, μείζονος γὰρ ἐνίστατο πολέμου καταρχή.

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[1] This tradition of marriage with a maternal aunt is remarkable. I do not remember to have met with another instance of such a marriage in Greek legend.

[2] For the tragic story of Procne and Philomela, and their transformation into birds, see Zenobius, *Cent.* iii. 14 (who, to a certain extent, agrees verbally with Apollodorus); Conon, *Narrat.* 31; Achilles Tatius, v. 3 and 5; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, vii. 459 *sqq.*; Pausanias, i 5. 4, i. 41. 8 *sq.*, x. 4. 8 *sq.*; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xix. 518, p. 1875; Hyginus, *Fab.* 45; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 426 674; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 78; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* v. 120; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 2 and 147 (First Vatican Mythographer, 8; Second Vatican Mythographer, 217). On this theme Sophocles composed a tragedy *Tereus*, from which most of the extant versions of the story are believed to be derived. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 221 *sqq.* However, the version of Hyginus differs from the rest in a number of particulars. For example, he represents Tereus as transformed into a hawk instead of into a hoopoe; but for this

Pandion married Zeuxippe, his mother's sister,[1] and begat two daughters, Procne and Philomela, and twin sons, Erechtheus and Butes. But war having broken out with Labdacus on a question of boundaries, he called in the help of Tereus, son of Ares, from Thrace, and having with his help brought the war to a successful close, he gave Tereus his own daughter Procne in marriage.[2] Tereus had by her a son Itys,

transformation he had the authority of Aeschylus (*Suppliants*, 60 *sqq.*). Tereus is commonly said to have been a Thracian, and the scene of the tragedy is sometimes laid in Thrace. Ovid, who adopts this account, appears to have associated the murder of Itys with the frenzied rites of the Bacchanals, for he says that the crime was perpetrated at the time when the Thracian women were celebrating the biennial festival (*sacra trieterica*) of Dionysus, and that the two women disguised themselves as Bacchanals. On the other hand, Thucydides (ii. 29) definitely affirms that Tereus dwelt in Daulia, a district of Phocis, and that the tragedy took place in that country; at the same time he tells us that the population of the district was then Thracian. In this he is followed by Strabo (ix. 3. 13, p. 423), Zenobius, Conon, Pausanias, and Nonnus (*Dionys.* iv. 320 *sqq.*). Thucydides supports his view by a reference to Greek poets, who called the nightingale the Daulian bird. The Megarians maintained that Tereus reigned at Pagae in Megaris, and they showed his grave in the form of a barrow, at which they sacrificed to him every year, using gravel in the sacrifice instead of barley groats (Pausanias, i. 41. 8 *sq.*). But no one who has seen the grey ruined walls and towers of Daulis, thickly mantled in ivy and holly-oak, on the summit of precipices that overhang a deep romantic glen at the foot of the towering slopes of Parnassus, will willingly consent to divest them of the legendary charm which Greek poetry and history have combined to throw over the lovely scene.

It is said that, after being turned into birds, Procne and Tereus continued to utter the same cries which they had emitted at the moment of their transformation; the nightingale still fled warbling plaintively the name of her dead son, *Itu! Itu!* while the hoopoe still pursued his cruel wife

παῖδα Ἴτυν, καὶ Φιλομήλας ἐρασθεὶς ἔφθειρε καὶ ταύτην, [εἰπὼν τεθνάναι Πρόκνην,][1] κρύπτων ἐπὶ τῶν χωρίων. [αὖθις δὲ γήμας Φιλομήλαν συνηνάζετο,][2] καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐξέτεμεν αὐτῆς. ἡ δὲ ὑφήνασα ἐν πέπλῳ γράμματα διὰ τούτων ἐμήνυσε Πρόκνῃ τὰς ἰδίας συμφοράς. ἡ δὲ ἀναζητήσασα τὴν ἀδελφὴν κτείνει τὸν παῖδα Ἴτυν, καὶ καθεψήσασα Τηρεῖ δεῖπνον ἀγνοοῦντι παρατίθησι·[3] καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς διὰ τάχους[4] ἔφυγε.[5] Τηρεὺς δὲ αἰσθόμενος, ἁρπάσας πέλεκυν ἐδίωκεν. αἱ δὲ ἐν Δαυλίᾳ τῆς Φωκίδος γινόμεναι περικατάληπτοι θεοῖς εὔχονται ἀπορνεωθῆναι, καὶ Πρόκνη μὲν γίνεται ἀηδών, Φιλομήλα δὲ χελιδών· ἀπορνεοῦται δὲ καὶ Τηρεύς, καὶ γίνεται ἔποψ.

XV. Πανδίονος δὲ ἀποθανόντος οἱ παῖδες τὰ πατρῷα ἐμερίσαντο, καὶ τὴν <μὲν>[6] βασιλείαν Ἐρεχθεὺς λαμβάνει, τὴν δὲ ἱερωσύνην τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως[7] Βούτης.

[1] εἰπὼν τεθνάναι Πρόκνην omitted by Hercher.

[2] αὖθις δὲ γήμας Φιλομήλαν συνηνάζετο omitted by Hercher. The narrative gains in clearness by the omission.

[3] παρατίθησι Zenobius, *Cent.* iii. 14, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: πρατιθῆσι EA, Heyne, Westermann, Muller.

[4] διὰ τάχους E: διαταχέως A: διὰ ταχέος Muller: διὰ ταχέων Westermann, Bekker, Hercher.

[5] ἔφυγε EA: ἔφευγε Hercher.

[6] μὲν inserted by Bekker.

[7] Ἐρεχθέως Heyne (conjecture), Hercher, Wagner: Ἐριχθονίου A, Westermann, Muller, Bekker.

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crying, *Poo! poo!* (ποῦ, ποῦ, "Where? Where?"). The later Roman mythographers somewhat absurdly inverted the transformation of the two sisters, making Procne the swallow and the tongueless Philomela the songstress nightingale.

[1] Erechtheus is recognized as the son of Pandion by the *Parian Chronicle* (*Marmor Parium*, lines 28 *sq.*), Eusebius

and having fallen in love with Philomela, he seduced her also saying that Procne was dead, for he concealed her in the country. Afterwards he married Philomela and bedded with her, and cut out her tongue. But by weaving characters in a robe she revealed thereby to Procne her own sorrows. And having sought out her sister, Procne killed her son Itys, boiled him, served him up for supper to the unwitting Tereus, and fled with her sister in haste. When Tereus was aware of what had happened, he snatched up an axe and pursued them. And being overtaken at Daulia in Phocis, they prayed the gods to be turned into birds, and Procne became a nightingale, and Philomela a swallow. And Tereus also was changed into a bird and became a hoopoe.

XV. When Pandion died, his sons divided their father's inheritance between them, and Erechtheus got the kingdom,[1] and Butes got the priesthood of Athena and Poseidon Erechtheus.[2] Erechtheus

(*Chronic.* vol i. p. 186, ed. A. Schoene), Hyginus (*Fab.* 48), and Ovid (*Metamorph.* vi. 675 *sqq.*). According to Ovid (*l.c.*), Erechtheus had four sons and four daughters.

[2] Compare Harpocration, *s.v.* Βούτης, who tells us that the families of the Butads and Eteobutads traced their origin to this Butes. There was an altar dedicated to him as to a hero in the Erechtheum on the acropolis of Athens (Pausanias, i. 26. 5). Compare J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* (Berlin, 1889), pp. 113 *sqq.* Erechtheus was identified with Poseidon at Athens (Hesychius, *s.v.* Ἐρεχθεύς). The Athenians sacrificed to Erechtheus Poseidon (Athenagoras, *Supplicatio pro Christianis*, 1). His priesthood was called the priesthood of Poseidon Erechtheus (Pseudo-Plutarch, x. *Orat. Vit., Lycurgus*, 30, p. 1027, ed. Dübner; *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, iii. No. 805; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 790). An inscription found at the Erechtheum contains a dedication to Poseidon Erechtheus

γήμας δὲ Ἐρεχθεὺς Πραξιθέαν τὴν Φοασίμου καὶ Διογενείας τῆς Κηφισοῦ, ἔσχε παῖδας Κέκροπα Πάνδωρον Μητίονα, θυγατέρας δὲ Πρόκριν Κρέουσαν Χθονίαν Ὠρείθυιαν, ἣν ἥρπασε Βορέας.

Χθονίαν μὲν οὖν ἔγημε Βούτης, Κρέουσαν δὲ Ξοῦθος, Πρόκριν δὲ Κέφαλος <ὁ> Δηϊόνος. ἡ δὲ

(*Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, i. No. 387). Hence we may conclude with great probability that Heyne is right in restoring Ἐρεχθέως for Ἐλευθερίου in the present passage of Apollodorus. See the Critical Note.

[1] Orithyia is said to have been carried off by Boreas from the banks of the Ilissus, where she was dancing or gathering flowers with her playmates. An altar to Boreas marked the spot. See below, iii. 15. 2; Plato, *Phaedrus*, p. 229 B C; Pausanias, i. 19. 5; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 212 *sqq.*, with the Scholiast on *v.* 212, from whom we learn that the story was told by the poet Simonides and the early historian Pherecydes. Compare Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 683 *sqq.* According to another account, Orithyia was seen and loved by Boreas as she was carrying a basket in a procession, which was winding up the slope of the acropolis to offer sacrifice to Athena Polias, the Guardian of the City; the impetuous lover whirled her away with him, invisible to the crowd and to the guards that surrounded the royal maidens. See Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xiv. 533, who refers to Aculaus as his authority. A different tradition as to the parentage of Orithyia appears to be implied by a vase-painting, which represents Boreas carrying off Orithyia in the presence of Cecrops, Erechtheus, Aglaurus, Herse, and Pandrosus, all of whom are identified by inscriptions (*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vol. iv. p. 146, No. 7716). The painting is interpreted most naturally by the supposition that in the artist's opinion Aglaurus, Herse, and Pandrosus, the three daughters of Cecrops (see above, iii. 14. 2), were the sisters of Orithyia, and therefore that her father was Cecrops, and not Erechtheus, as Apollodorus, following the ordinary Greek tradition (Herodotus, vii. 189), assumes in the present passage. This inference is confirmed by an express statement of the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* i. 212) that

married Praxithea, daughter of Phrasimus by Diogenia, daughter of Cephisus, and had sons, to wit, Cecrops, Pandorus, and Metion; and daughters, to wit, Procris, Creusa, Chthonia, and Orithyia, who was carried off by Boreas.[1]

Chthonia was married to Butes,[2] Creusa to Xuthus,[3] and Procris to Cephalus, son of Deion.[4] Bribed by

Cecrops was the father of Orithyia. As to the vase-painting in question, see F. G. Welcker, *Antike Denkmäler*, iii. 144 *sqq.*; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. 351 *sqq.*

[2] This is the third instance of marriage or betrothal with a niece, the daughter of a brother, which has met us in Apollodorus. See above, ii. 4. 3, ii. 4. 5. So many references to such a marriage seem to indicate a former practice of marrying a niece, the daughter of a brother.

[3] Compare Euripides, *Ion*, 57 *sqq.*; Pausanias, vii. 1. 2, where, however, Creusa is not named.

[4] The tragic story of Cephalus and Procris was told with variations in detail by ancient writers. See Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 321; Eustathius on Homer, *l.c.*, p. 1688; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 41; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 542 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 189; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 670-862; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 445; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 16 *sq.*, 147 (First Vatican Mythographer, 44; Second Vatican Mythographer, 216). Of these writers, Tzetzes closely follows Apollodorus, whom he cites by name. They are the only two authors who mention the intrigue of Procris with Pteleus and the bribe of the golden crown. The story was told by Pherecydes, as we learn from the Scholiast on Homer, *l.c.*, who gives an abstract of the narrative. In it the test of his wife's chastity is made by Cephalus himself in disguise; nothing is said of the flight of the abashed Procris to Minos, and nothing of the love of Dawn (Aurora) for Cephalus, which in several of the versions figures conspicuously, since it is the jealous goddess who suggests to her human lover the idea of tempting his wife to her fall. The episode of Procris's flight to Minos is told with some differences of detail by Antoninus Liberalis. As to the dog which Procris

λαβοῦσα χρυσοῦν στέφανον Πτελέοντι συνευνάζεται, καὶ φωραθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κεφάλου πρὸς Μίνωα φεύγει. ὁ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρᾷ καὶ πείθει συνελθεῖν. εἰ δὲ συνέλθοι γυνὴ Μίνωι, ἀδύνατον ἦν αὐτὴν σωθῆναι· Πασιφάη γάρ, ἐπειδὴ πολλαῖς Μίνως συνηυνάζετο γυναιξίν, ἐφαρμάκευσεν αὐτόν, καὶ ὁπότε ἄλλῃ συνηυνάζετο, εἰς τὰ ἄρθρα ἀφίει[1] θηρία, καὶ οὕτως ἀπώλλυντο. ἔχοντος οὖν αὐτοῦ κύνα ταχὺν καὶ ἀκόντιον ἰθυβόλον, ἐπὶ τούτοις Πρόκρις, δοῦσα τὴν Κιρκαίαν πιεῖν ῥίζαν πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν βλάψαι, συνευνάζεται. δείσασα δὲ αὖθις τὴν Μίνωος γυναῖκα ἦκεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ διαλλαγεῖσα Κεφάλῳ μετὰ τούτου παραγίνεται ἐπὶ θήραν· ἦν γὰρ θηρευτική. διωκούσης δὲ αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ λόχμῃ[2] ἀγνοήσας Κέφαλος ἀκοντίζει, καὶ τυχὼν ἀποκτείνει Πρόκριν. καὶ κριθεὶς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ φυγὴν ἀίδιον καταδικάζεται.

2 Ὠρείθυιαν δὲ παίζουσαν[3] ἐπὶ Ἰλισσοῦ ποταμοῦ ἁρπάσας Βορέας συνῆλθεν· ἡ δὲ γεννᾷ θυγατέρας μὲν Κλεοπάτραν καὶ Χιόνην, υἱοὺς δὲ Ζήτην καὶ Κάλαϊν πτερωτούς, οἳ πλέοντες σὺν Ἰάσονι καὶ

[1] ἀφίει Heyne (conjecture), Bekker, Hercher: ἐφίει, Westermann, Müller, Wagner, following apparently the MSS.

[2] λόχμῃ O: λόγχῃ A.

[3] παίζουσαν Staverenus, Hercher, Wagner (compare παίζουσαν in Plato, *Phaedrus*, p. 229 c; Pausanias, i. 29. 5; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 212): περῶσαν A, Westermann, Bekker.

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received from Minos, see above, ii. 7. 1. The animal's name was Laelaps (Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 771; Hyginus, *Fab.* 189). According to Hyginus (*l.c.*), both the dog and the dart which could never miss were bestowed on Procris by Artemis (Diana). Sophocles wrote a tragedy *Procris*, of

a golden crown, Procris admitted Pteleon to her bed, and being detected by Cephalus she fled to Minos. But he fell in love with her and tried to seduce her. Now if any woman had intercourse with Minos, it was impossible for her to escape with life; for because Minos cohabited with many women, Pasiphae bewitched him, and whenever he took another woman to his bed, he discharged wild beasts at her joints, and so the women perished.[1] But Minos had a swift dog and a dart that flew straight; and in return for these gifts Procris shared his bed, having first given him the Circaean root to drink that he might not harm her. But afterwards, fearing the wife of Minos, she came to Athens and being reconciled to Cephalus she went forth with him to the chase; for she was fond of hunting. As she was in pursuit of game in the thicket, Cephalus, not knowing she was there, threw a dart, hit and killed Procris, and, being tried in the Areopagus, was condemned to perpetual banishment.[2]

While Orithyia was playing by the Ilissus river, Boreas carried her off and had intercourse with her; and she bore daughters, Cleopatra and Chione, and winged sons, Zetes and Calais. These sons sailed

which antiquity has bequeathed to us four words. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 170 *sq.* The accidental killing of Procris by her husband was a familiar, indeed trite, tale in Greece (Pausanias, x. 29. 6).

[1] The danger which the women incurred, and the device by which Procris contrived to counteract it, are clearly explained by Antoninus Liberalis (*Transform.* 41). According to him, the animals which Minos discharged from his body were snakes, scorpions, and millipeds.

[2] Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 552. After the homicide of his wife, Cephalus is said to have dwelt as an exile in Thebes (Pausanias, i. 37. 6).

τὰς ἁρπυίας διώκοντες ἀπέθανον, ὡς δὲ Ἀκουσίλαος λέγει, περὶ Τῆνον ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους ἀπώλοντο.

3 Κλεοπάτραν δὲ ἔγημε Φινεύς, ᾧ γίνονται παῖδες <ἐξ>[1] αὐτῆς Πλήξιππος καὶ Πανδίων. ἔχων δὲ τούτους ἐκ Κλεοπάτρας παῖδας Ἰδαίαν ἐγάμει[2] τὴν Δαρδάνου. κἀκείνη τῶν προγόνων πρὸς Φινέα φθορὰν καταψεύδεται, καὶ πιστεύσας Φινεὺς ἀμφοτέρους τυφλοῖ. παραπλέοντες δὲ οἱ Ἀργοναῦται σὺν Βορέᾳ κολάζονται[3] αὐτόν.

4 Χιόνη δὲ Ποσειδῶνι[4] μίγνυται. ἡ δὲ κρύφα

[1] ἐξ inserted by Heyne.
[2] γαμεῖ Hercher.
[3] κολάζουσιν Bekker (conjecture), Hercher.
[4] Χιόνη δὲ Ποσειδᾶν Hercher.

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[1] See above, i. 9. 21; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 211 *sqq.*, ii. 273 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xiv. 533, Scholiast on Sophocles, *Antigone*, 981; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14, pp. 42 *sq.*, ed. Bunte; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 711 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 209. According to Hyginus (*l.c.*), their wings were attached to their feet, and their hair was sky-blue. Elsewhere (*Fab.* 19) he describes them with wings on their heads as well as on their feet. Ovid says that they were twins, and that they did not develop wings until their beards began to grow; according to him, the pinions sprouted from their sides in the usual way.

[2] This is the version adopted by Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* i. 1298–1308), who tells us that when Zetes and Calais were returning from the funeral games of Pelias, Hercules killed them in Tenos because they had persuaded the Argonauts to leave him behind in Mysia; over their grave he heaped a barrow, and on the barrow he set up two pillars, one of which shook at every breath of the North Wind, the father of the two dead men. The slaughter of Zetes and Calais by Hercules is mentioned by Hyginus (*Fab.* 14, p. 43, ed. Bunte).

[3] See above, i. 9. 21. The story of Phineus and his sons is related by the Scholiast on Sophocles (*Antigone*, 981), referring

with Jason[1] and met their end in chasing the Harpies; but according to Acusilaus, they were killed by Hercules in Tenos.[2] Cleopatra was married to Phineus, who had by her two sons, Plexippus and Pandion. When he had these sons by Cleopatra, he married Idaea, daughter of Dardanus. She falsely accused her stepsons to Phineus of corrupting her virtue, and Phineus, believing her, blinded them both.[3] But when the Argonauts sailed past with Boreas, they punished him.[4]

Chione had connexion with Poseidon, and having

to the present passage of Apollodorus as his authority. The tale was told by the ancients with many variations, some of which are noticed by the Scholiast on Sophocles (*l.c.*) According to Sophocles (*Antigone*, 969 *sqq.*), it was not their father Phineus, but their cruel stepmother, who blinded the two young men, using her shuttle as a dagger. The names both of the stepmother and of her stepsons are variously given by our authorities. See further Diodorus Siculus, iv. 43 *sq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xii. 69 (who refers to Asclepiades as his authority); Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 178; Hyginus, *Fab.* 19; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 209; Scholiast on Ovid, *Ibis*, 265, 271; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol i. pp. 9, 124 (First Vatican Mythographer, 27; Second Vatican Mythographer, 124). According to Phylarchus, Aesculapius restored the sight of the blinded youths for the sake of their mother Cleopatra, but was himself killed by Zeus with a thunderbolt for so doing. See Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos*, i. 262, p. 658, ed. Bekker; compare Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 54 (96); Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1. Both Aeschylus and Sophocles composed tragedies entitled *Phineus*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck[2], pp. 83, 284 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 311 *sqq.*

[4] Here Apollodorus departs from the usual tradition, followed by himself elsewhere (i. 9. 21), which affirmed that the Argonauts, instead of punishing Phineus, rendered him a great service by delivering him from the Harpies.

τοῦ πατρὸς Εὔμολπον τεκοῦσα, ἵνα μὴ γένηται καταφανής, εἰς τὸν βυθὸν ῥίπτει τὸ παιδίον. Ποσειδῶν δὲ ἀνελόμενος εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν κομίζει καὶ δίδωσι Βενθεσικύμῃ τρέφειν, αὐτοῦ θυγατρὶ καὶ Ἀμφιτρίτης. ὡς δὲ ἐτελειώθη,[1] ὁ Βενθεσικύμης ἀνὴρ τὴν ἑτέραν αὐτῷ τῶν θυγατέρων δίδωσιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τῆς γαμηθείσης ἐπεχείρησε βιάζεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φυγαδευθεὶς μετὰ Ἰσμάρου τοῦ παιδὸς πρὸς Τεγύριον ἦκε, Θρᾳκῶν βασιλέα, ὃς αὐτοῦ τῷ παιδὶ τὴν θυγατέρα συνῴκισεν.[2] ἐπιβουλεύων δὲ ὕστερον Τεγυρίῳ καταφανὴς γίνεται, καὶ πρὸς Ἐλευσινίους φεύγει καὶ φιλίαν ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτούς. αὖθις δὲ Ἰσμάρου τελευτήσαντος μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Τεγυρίου παραγίνεται, καὶ τὴν ποὸ τοῦ μάχην διαλυσάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε. καὶ πολέμου ἑνστάντος πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τοῖς Ἐλευσινίοις,[3] ἐπικληθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἐλευσινίων μετὰ πολλῆς συνε-

[1] After ἐτελειώθη some MSS read ἔνδον or ἔνδον ἐν, which Bekker changed into Ἔνδιος and Hercher into Ἔναλος. It seems probable that the name of Benthesicyme's husband is concealed under ἔνδον or ἔνδον ἐν.

[2] συνῴκισεν R^a : συνῴκησεν A.

[3] τοῖς Ἐλευσινίοις Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner : καὶ Ἐλευσινίους A.

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[1] With this account of the parentage of Eumolpus, compare Pausanias, i. 38, 2; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoeniss.* 854; Hyginus, *Fab.* 157. Isocrates (iv. 68) agrees with Apollodorus in describing Eumolpus as a son of Poseidon, but does not name his mother. On the other hand the *Parian Chronicle* (*Marmor Parium*, lines 27 *sq.*) represents Eumolpus as a son of Musaeus, and says that he founded the mysteries of Eleusis. Apollodorus does not expressly attribute the institution of the

given birth to Eumolpus[1] unknown to her father, in order not to be detected, she flung the child into the deep. But Poseidon picked him up and conveyed him to Ethiopia, and gave him to Benthesicyme (a daughter of his own by Amphitrite) to bring up. When he was full grown, Benthesicyme's husband gave him one of his two daughters. But he tried to force his wife's sister, and being banished on that account, he went with his son Ismarus to Tegyrius, king of Thrace, who gave his daughter in marriage to Eumolpus's son. But being afterwards detected in a plot against Tegyrius, he fled to the Eleusinians and made friends with them. Later, on the death of Ismarus, he was sent for by Tegyrius and went, composed his old feud with him, and succeeded to the kingdom. And war having broken out between the Athenians and the Eleusinians, he was called in by the Eleusinians and fought on their side with a large

mysteries to Eumolpus, but perhaps he implies it. Compare ii. 5. 12. It seems to have been a common tradition that the mysteries of Eleusis were founded by the Thracian Eumolpus. See Plutarch, *De exilio*, 17; Lucian, *Demonax*, 31; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Εὐμολπίδαι. But some people held that the Eumolpus who founded the mysteries was a different person from the Thracian Eumolpus; his mother, according to them, was Deiope, daughter of Triptolemus. Some of the ancients supposed that there were as many as three different legendary personages of the name of Eumolpus, and that the one who instituted the Eleusinian mysteries was descended in the fifth generation from the first Eumolpus. See Scholiast on Sophocles, *Oedipus Colon.* 1053; Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Εὐμολπ.δαι. The story which Apollodorus here tells of the casting of Eumolpus into the sea, his rescue by Poseidon, and his upbringing in Ethiopia, appears not to be noticed by any other ancient writer.

μαχει Θρᾳκῶν δυνάμεως. Ἐρεχθεῖ δὲ ὑπὲρ[1] Ἀθηναίων νίκης χρωμένῳ ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς κατορθώσειν τὸν πόλεμον, ἐὰν μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων σφάξῃ. καὶ σφάξαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν νεωτάτην καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ ἑαυτὰς κατέσφαξαν· ἐπεποίηντο γάρ, ὡς ἔφασάν τινες, συνωμοσίαν ἀλλήλαις συναπολέσθαι. γενομένης δὲ μετὰ <τὴν>[2] σφαγὴν τῆς μάχης Ἐρεχθεὺς μὲν ἀνεῖλεν Εὔμολπον, Ποσειδῶνος δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἐρεχθέα καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καταλύσαντος, Κέκροψ ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν Ἐρεχθέως παίδων ἐβασίλευσεν, ὃς γήμας Μητιάδουσαν τὴν Εὐπαλάμου παῖδα ἐτέκνωσε Πανδίονα. οὗτος μετὰ Κέκροπα[3] βασιλεύων ὑπὸ τῶν Μητίονος

[1] ὑπὲρ A : περὶ Hercher.
[2] τὴν inserted by Bekker.
[3] Κέκροπα Heyne : κέκροπος A.

[1] As to the war between the Athenians and the Eleusinians, see Pausanias, i. 5. 2, i. 27. 4, i. 31. 3, i. 36. 4, i. 38. 3, ii. 14. 2, vii. 1. 5, ix. 9. 1 ; Alcidamas, *Odyss.* 23, p. 182, ed. Blass ; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoeniss.* 854 ; Aristides, *Or.* xiii. vol. i. pp 190 *sq.*, ed. Dindorf. Pausanias differs from Apollodorus and our other authorities in saying that in the battle it was not Eumolpus, but his son Ismarus or, as Pausanias calls him, Immaradus who fell by the hand of Erechtheus (i. 5. 2, i. 27. 4). According to Pausanias (i. 38. 3), Erechtheus was himself slain in the battle, but Eumolpus survived it and was allowed to remain in Eleusis (ii. 14. 2). Further, Pausanias relates that in the war with Eleusis the Athenians offered the supreme command of their forces to the exiled Ion, and that he accepted it (i. 31. 3, ii. 14. 2, vii. 1. 5) ; and with this account Strabo (viii. 7. 1, p. 383) substantially agrees. The war waged by Eumolpus on Athens is mentioned by Plato (*Menexenus*, p. 239 *a*), Isocrates (iv. 68, xii. 193), Demosthenes (lx. 8. p. 1391), and Plutarch (*Parallela*, 31). According to Isocrates, Eumolpus claimed the kingdom of Athens against Erechtheus on the ground that his father Poseidon had gained possession of the country before Athena.

force of Thracians.[1] When Erechtheus inquired of the oracle how the Athenians might be victorious, the god answered that they would win the war if he would slaughter one of his daughters; and when he slaughtered his youngest, the others also slaughtered themselves; for, as some said, they had taken an oath among themselves to perish together.[2] In the battle which took place after the slaughter, Erechtheus killed Eumolpus. But Poseidon having destroyed Erechtheus[3] and his house, Cecrops, the eldest of the sons of Erechtheus, succeeded to the throne.[4] He married Metiadusa, daughter of Eupalamus, and begat Pandion. This Pandion, reigning after Cecrops, was

[2] Compare Lycurgus, *Contra Leocratem*, 98 *sq.*, ed. C. Scheibe; Plutarch, *Parallela*, 20; Suidas, *s.v.* παρθένοι; Apostolius, *Cent.* xiv. 7; Aristides, *Or.* xiii. vol. i. p. 191, ed. Dindorf; Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, xxi. 48; *id. Tusculan. Disput.* i. 48. 116; *id. De natura deorum*, iii. 19. 50; *id. De finibus*, v. 22. 62; Hyginus, *Fab.* 46. According to Suidas and Apostolius, out of the six daughters of Erechtheus only the two eldest, Protogonia and Pandora, offered themselves for the sacrifice. According to Euripides (*Ion*, 277–280), the youngest of the sisters, Creusa, was spared because she was an infant in arms. Aristides speaks of the sacrifice of one daughter only. Cicero says (*De natura deorum*, iii. 19. 50) that on account of this sacrifice Erechtheus and his daughters were reckoned among the gods at Athens. "Sober," that is, wineless, sacrifices were offered after their death to the daughters of Erechtheus. See Scholiast on Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 100. The heroic sacrifice of the maidens was celebrated by Euripides in his tragedy *Erechtheus*, from which a long passage is quoted by Lycurgus (*op. cit.* 100). See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck[2], pp. 464 *sqq.*

[3] According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 46), Zeus killed Erechtheus with a thunderbolt at the request of Poseidon, who was enraged at the Athenians for killing his son Eumolpus.

[4] Compare Pausanias, i. 5. 3, vii. 1. 2.

υἱῶν κατὰ στάσιν ἐξεβλήθη, καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Μέγαρα πρὸς Πύλαν τὴν ἐκείνου θυγατέρα Πυλίαν[1] γαμεῖ. αἴθις <δὲ>[2] καὶ τῆς πόλεως βασιλεὺς[3] καθίσταται· κτείνας γὰρ Πύλας τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφὸν Βίαντα τὴν βασιλείαν δίδωσι Πανδίονι, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Πελοπόννησον σὺν λαῷ παραγενόμενος κτίζει πόλιν Πύλον.

Πανδίονι δὲ ἐν Μεγίστοις ὄντι παῖδες ἐγένοντο Αἰγεὺς Πάλλας Νίσος Λύκος. ἔνιοι δὲ Αἰγέα Σκυρίου εἶναι λέγουσιν, ὑποβληθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ Πανδίονος. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Πανδίονος τελευτὴν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ στρατεύσαντες ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐξέβαλον τοὺς Μητιονίδας καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τετραχῆ διεῖλον· εἶχε δὲ τὸ πᾶν κράτος Αἰγεύς. γαμεῖ δὲ πρώτην[4] μὲν Μιλαν τὴν Ὀπλῆτος, δευτέραν δὲ Χαλκιόπην τὴν Ῥηξήνορος. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐγίνετο παῖς αὐτῷ, δεδοικὼς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εἰς Πυθίαν[5]

[1] Πελίαι Faber, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner, preferred by Heyne: πελίαν A, Westermann, Müller.

[2] δὲ conjectured by Heyne, accepted by Westermann, Hercher, and Wagner.

[3] βασιλεὺς. The MSS. (A) add ὑπ' αὐτῆς, which is kept by Westermann, Bekker, and Wagner, but altered into ὑπ' αὐτοῦ by Müller. I have followed Hercher in omitting the words as a gloss, which was the course preferred by Heyne.

[4] πρώτην Hercher, Wagner: πρῶτον AS.

[5] Πυθίαν a rare, if not unexampled, form of the old name for Delphi. The usual form is Πυθώ, which is used by Apollodorus elsewhere (i. 4. 1) and should perhaps be restored here.

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[1] Compare Pausanias, i. 5. 3, who tells us that the tomb of Pandion was in the land of Megara, on a bluff called the bluff of Diver-bird Athena.

expelled by the sons of Metion in a sedition, and going to Pylas at Megara married his daughter Pylia.[1] And at a later time he was even appointed king of the city; for Pylas slew his father's brother Bias and gave the kingdom to Pandion, while he himself repaired to Peloponnese with a body of people and founded the city of Pylus.[2]

While Pandion was at Megara, he had sons born to him, to wit, Aegeus, Pallas, Nisus, and Lycus. But some say that Aegeus was a son of Scyrius, but was passed off by Pandion as his own.[3] After the death of Pandion his sons marched against Athens, expelled the Metionids, and divided the government in four; but Aegeus had the whole power.[4] The first wife whom he married was Meta, daughter of Hoples, and the second was Chalciope, daughter of Rhexenor.[5] As no child was born to him, he feared his brothers, and went to Pythia and consulted the

[2] Compare Pausanias, i. 39. 4, iv. 36. 1, vi. 22. 5, who variously names this Megarian king Pylas, Pylus, and Pylon.

[3] Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 494, who may have copied Apollodorus. The sons of Pallas, the brother of Aegeus, alleged that Aegeus was not of the stock of the Erechtheids, since he was only an adopted son of Pandion. See Plutarch, *Theseus*, 13.

[4] Compare Pausanias i. 5. 4, i. 39. 4, according to whom Aegeus, as the eldest of the sons of Pandion, obtained the sovereignty of Attica, while his brother Nisus, relinquishing his claim to his elder brother, was invested with the kingdom of Megara. As to the fourfold partition of Attica among the sons of Pandion, about which the ancients were not agreed, see Strabo, ix. i. 6, p. 392; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 58, and on *Wasps*, 1223.

[5] Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 494, who may have copied Apollodorus.

ἦλθε καὶ περὶ παίδων γονῆς ἐμαντεύετο. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἔχρησεν αὐτῷ·

ἀσκοῦ τὸν προύχοντα ποδάονα,[1] φέριστε λαῶν,
μὴ λύσῃς, πρὶν ἐς ἄκρον Ἀθηναίων ἀφίκηαι.

ἀπορῶν δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν ἀνῆλθε πάλιν εἰς Ἀθήνας. 7 καὶ Τροιζῆνα διοδεύων ἐπιξενοῦται Πιτθεῖ τῷ Πέλοπος, ὃς τὸν χρησμὸν συνεὶς, μεθύσας αὐτὸν τῇ θυγατρὶ συγκατέκλινεν Αἴθρᾳ. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἐπλησίασεν αὐτῇ. Αἰγεὺς δὲ ἐντελάμενος Αἴθρᾳ, ἐὰν ἄρρενα γεννήσῃ, τρέφειν, τίνος ἐστὶ μὴ λέγουσαν,[2] ἀπέλιπεν ὑπό τινα πέτραν[3] μάχαιραν καὶ πέδιλα, εἰπών, ὅταν ὁ παῖς δύνηται τὴν πέτραν ἀποκυλίσας ἀνελέσθαι ταῦτα, τότε μετ' αὐτῶν αὐτὸν ἀποπέμπειν.

Λύτὸς δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὸν τῶν Παναθηναίων ἀγῶνα ἐπετέλει, ἐν ᾧ ὁ Μίνωος παῖς Ἀνδρόγεως ἐνίκησε πάντας. τοῦτον Αἰγεὺς[4] ἐπὶ τὸν Μαραθώνιον ἔπεμψε ταῦρον, ὑφ' οὗ διεφθάρη. ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτὸν λέγουσι πορευόμενον εἰς Θήβας[5]

[1] ποδάονα ES, Scholiast on Euripides, *Medea*, 679, Tzetzes, *Schol on Lycophron*, 494 (where, however, the MSS. seem to vary), Heyne, Wagner: πόδα μεγα A, Plutarch, *Theseus*, 3, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher. The form ποδάων seems to be known only in these passages: elsewhere the word occurs in the form ποδεών.

[2] τίνος ἐστὶ μὴ λέγουσαν ES: καὶ τίνος ἔσται μὴ λέγειν A.

[3] τινα πέτραν ESA, Westermann, Wagner: τινι πέτρᾳ Heyne, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

[4] Αἰγεὺς S: ὁ ζευς A.

[5] Θήβας Meursius compare Diodorus Siculus, iv, 60. 5; Scholiast on Plato, *Minos*, p 321 A): ἀθήνας A.

[1] As to the oracle, the begetting of Theseus, and the tokens of his human paternity, see Plutarch, *Theseus*, 3 and

oracle concerning the begetting of children. The god answered him:—

"The bulging mouth of the wineskin, O best of men,
Loose not until thou hast reached the height of Athens."[1]

Not knowing what to make of the oracle, he set out on his return to Athens. And journeying by way of Troezen, he lodged with Pittheus, son of Pelops, who, understanding the oracle, made him drunk and caused him to lie with his daughter Aethra. But in the same night Poseidon also had connexion with her. Now Aegeus charged Aethra that, if she gave birth to a male child, she should rear it, without telling whose it was; and he left a sword and sandals under a certain rock, saying that when the boy could roll away the rock and take them up, she was then to send him away with them.

But he himself came to Athens and celebrated the games of the Panathenian festival, in which Androgeus, son of Minos, vanquished all comers. Him Aegeus sent against the bull of Marathon, by which he was destroyed. But some say that as he journeyed

6; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 491; Hyginus *Fab.* 37. As to the tokens, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 59. 1 and 6; Pausanias, i. 27. 8, ii. 32. 7 Theseus is said to have claimed to be a son of Poseidon, because the god had consorted with his mother; and in proof of his marine descent he dived into the sea and brought up a golden crown, the gift of Amphitrite, together with a golden ring which Minos had thrown into the sea in order to test his claim to be a son of the sea-god. See Bacchylides, xvi. (xvii.) 33 *sqq.*; Pausanias, i. 17. 3; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 5. The picturesque story was painted by Micon in the sanctuary of Theseus at Athens (Pausanias, *l.c.*), and is illustrated by some Greek vase-paintings. See my commentary on Pausanias, vol. ii. pp. 157 *sq.*

ἐπὶ τὸν Λαΐου ἀγῶνα πρὸς τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν ἐνεδρευθέντα διὰ φθόνον ἀπολέσθαι. Μίνως δέ, ἀγγελθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θανάτου,[1] θύων ἐν Πάρῳ ταῖς χάρισι, τὸν μὲν στέφανον ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔρριψε καὶ τὸν αὐλὸν κατέσχε, τὴν δὲ θυσίαν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐπετέλεσεν· ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ δεῦρο χωρὶς αὐλῶν καὶ στεφάνων ἐν Πάρῳ θύουσι ταῖς χάρισι.

8 μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ βαλασσοκρατῶν ἐπολέμησε στόλῳ τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ Μέγαρα εἶλε Νίσου βασιλεύοντος τοῦ Πανδίονος, καὶ Μεγαρέα τὸν Ἱππομένους ἐξ Ὀγχηστοῦ Νίσῳ βοηθὸν ἐλθόντα ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ Νῖσος διὰ θυγατρὸς προδοσίαν. ἔχοντι γὰρ αὐτῷ πορφυρέαν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ κεφαλῇ τρίχα ταύτης ἀφαιρεθείσης ἦν χρησμὸς τελευτῆσαι·[2] ἡ δὲ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ Σκύλλα ἐραθεῖσα Μίνωος ἐξεῖλε τὴν τρίχα. Μίνως[3] δὲ Μεγάρων κρατήσας καὶ τὴν κόρην τῆς πρύμνης τῶν ποδῶν ἐκδήσας ὑποβρύχιον ἐποίησε.

[1] ἀγγελθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θανάτου Wyttenbach (on Plutarch, *Praecepta sanit. tuend.*, 132 E, vol. ii., p. 154, Leipsic, 1821), Westermann, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: ἐπαγγελθέντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θανάτου Heyne; ἐτελεύτησε αὐτοῦ θανάτου A, Müller.

[2] ἦν χρησμὸς τελευτῆσαι E: τελευτᾷ A (omitting ἦν χρησμός).

[3] Μίνως E: μόνον A.

[1] This account of the murder of Androgeus is repeated almost verbally by the Scholiast on Plato, *Minos*, p. 321 A. Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 60. 4 *sq.*; Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 6; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xviii. 590. All these writers mention the distinction won by Androgeus in the athletic contests of the Panathenian festival as the ultimate ground of his undoing. Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 14) and Lactantius Placidus (on Statius, *Achill.* 192) say that, as an eminent athlete who beat all competitors in the games, Androgeus was murdered at Athens by Athenian and Megarian conspirators. Pausanias (i. 27. 10) mentions the killing of Andro-

to Thebes to take part in the games in honour of Laius, he was waylaid and murdered by the jealous competitors.[1] But when the tidings of his death were brought to Minos, as he was sacrificing to the Graces in Paros, he threw away the garland from his head and stopped the music of the flute, but nevertheless completed the sacrifice; hence down to this day they sacrifice to the Graces in Paros without flutes and garlands. But not long afterwards, being master of the sea, he attacked Athens with a fleet and captured Megara, then ruled by king Nisus, son of Pandion, and he slew Megareus, son of Hippomenes, who had come from Onchestus to the help of Nisus.[2] Now Nisus perished through his daughter's treachery. For he had a purple hair on the middle of his head, and an oracle ran that when it was pulled out he should die; and his daughter Scylla fell in love with Minos and pulled out the hair. But when Minos had made himself master of Megara, he tied the damsel by the feet to the stern of the ship and drowned her.[3]

geus by the Marathonian bull. According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 41), Androgeus was killed in battle during the war which his father Minos waged with the Athenians.

[2] Compare Pausanias, i. 39. 5, who calls Megareus a son of Poseidon, and says that Megara took its name from him.

[3] With this story of the death of Nisus through the treachery of his daughter Scylla, compare Aeschylus, *Choephor.* 612 *sqq.*; Pausanias, i. 19. 5, ii. 34. 7; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 650; Scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 1200; Propertius, iv. 19 (18) 21 *sqq.*; [Virgil,] *Ciris*, 378 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 198; Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 6 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil. *Ecl.* vi. 74; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* i. 333, vii. 261; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 2, 116 (First Vatican Mythographer, 3; Second Vatican Mythographer, 124). A similar tale is told of Pterelaus and his daughter Comaetho. See above, ii. 4. 5, ii. 4. 7.

Χρονιζομένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου, μὴ δυνάμενος ἑλεῖν Ἀθήνας εὔχεται Διὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων λαθεῖν δίκας. γενομένου δὲ τῇ πόλει λιμοῦ τε καὶ λοιμοῦ. τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατὰ λόγιον Ἀθηναῖοι παλαιὸν τὰς Ὑακίνθου κόρας, Ἀντηίδα Λεγληίδα Λυταίαν Ὀρθαίαν, ἐπὶ τὸν Γεραίστου τοῦ Κύκλωπος τάφον κατέσφαξαν· τούτων δὲ ὁ πατὴρ Ὑάκινθος ἐλθὼν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος Ἀθήνας κατῴκει. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἦν τοῦτο, ἐχρῶντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀνεῖλεν[1] αὐτοῖς Μίνωι διδόναι δίκας ἃς ἂν αὐτὸς αἱροῖτο.[2] πέμψαντες οὖν πρὸς Μίνωα ἐπέτρεπον αἰτεῖν δίκας. Μίνως δὲ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῖς κόρους[3] ἑπτὰ καὶ κόρας τὰς ἴσας χωρὶς ὅπλων πέμπειν τῷ Μινωταύρῳ βοράν. ἦν δὲ

[1] ἀνεῖλεν Faber, Hercher, Wagner: ἀνεῖπεν Scholiast on Plato, *Minos*, p. 321 A, Heyne, Westermann, Muller, Bekker: ἀπεῖπεν A.

[2] αἱροῖτο E, Wagner: αἱρεῖται A, Heyne, Muller: αἱρῆται Scholiast on Plato, *Minos*, p. 321 A, Westermann, Bekker, Hercher.

[3] κόρους E, Scholiast on Plato, *Minos*, p. 321 A: κούρους A.

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[1] Compare Diodorus Siculus, xvii. 15. 2; Hyginus, *Fab.* 238 (who seems to mention only one daughter; but the passage is corrupt); Harpocration, *s.v.* Ὑακινθίδες, who says that the daughters of Hyacinth the Lacedaemonian were known as the Hyacinthides. The name of one of the daughters of Hyacinth is said to have been Lusia (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Λουσία). Some people, however, identified the Hyacinthides with the daughters of Erechtheus, who were similarly sacrificed for their country (above, iii. 15. 4). See Demosthenes, lx. 27, p. 1397; Suidas, *s.v.* παρθένοι. According to Phanodemus in the fifth book of his *Atthis* (cited by Suidas, *l.c.*), the daughters of Erechtheus were called Hyacinthides because they were sacrificed at the hill named Hyacinth. Similarly, as Heyne pointed out in his note on the present passage, the three daughters of Leos, namely, Praxithea, Theope, and Eubule,

When the war lingered on and he could not take Athens, he prayed to Zeus that he might be avenged on the Athenians. And the city being visited with a famine and a pestilence, the Athenians at first, in obedience to an ancient oracle, slaughtered the daughters of Hyacinth, to wit, Antheis, Aegleis, Lytaea, and Orthaea, on the grave of Geraestus, the Cyclops; now Hyacinth, the father of the damsels, had come from Lacedaemon and dwelt in Athens.[1] But when this was of no avail, they inquired of the oracle how they could be delivered; and the god answered them that they should give Minos whatever satisfaction he might choose. So they sent to Minos and left it to him to claim satisfaction. And Minos ordered them to send seven youths and the same number of damsels without weapons to be fodder for the Minotaur.[2] Now the Minotaur was confined

are said to have sacrificed themselves voluntarily, or to have been freely sacrificed by their father, for the safety of Athens in obedience to an oracle. A precinct called the Leocorium was dedicated to their worship at Athens. See Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 28; Demosthenes, lx. 28, p. 1398; Pausanias, i. 5. 2, with my note (vol. ii. p. 78); Apostolius, *Cent.* x. 53; Aristides, *Or.* xiii. vol. i. pp. 191 *sq.*, ed. Dindorf; Cicero, *De natura deorum*, iii. 19. 50. So, too, in Boeotia the two maiden daughters of Orion are said to have sacrificed themselves freely to deliver their country from a fatal pestilence or dearth, which according to an oracle of the Gortynian Apollo could be remedied only by the voluntary sacrifice of two virgins. See Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 25; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 685–699. The frequency of such legends, among which the traditional sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis may be included, suggests that formerly the Greeks used actually to sacrifice maidens in great emergencies, such as plagues and prolonged droughts, when ordinary sacrifices had proved ineffectual.

[2] Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv 61. 1–4; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 15; Pausanias, i. 27. 10; Scholiast on Plato, *Minos*, p. 321 A; Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 20 *sqq.*; Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 14; Hyginus, *Fab.* 41; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Achill.* 192.

οὗτος ἐν λαβυρίνθῳ καθειργμένος, ἐν ᾧ τὸν εἰσελθόντα ἀδύνατον ἦν ἐξιέναι· πολυπλόκοις γὰρ καμπαῖς τὴν ἀγνοουμένην ἔξοδον ἀπέκλειε. κατεσκευάκει δὲ αὐτὸν Δαίδαλος ὁ Εὐπαλάμου παῖς τοῦ Μητίονος καὶ Ἀλκίππης. ἦν γὰρ[1] ἀρχιτέκτων ἄριστος καὶ πρῶτος ἀγαλμάτων εὑρετής. οὗτος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἔφυγεν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως βαλὼν τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς [Πέρδικος][2] υἱὸν Τάλω,[3] μαθητὴν ὄντα, δείσας μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐφυΐαν αὐτὸν ὑπερβάλῃ· σιαγόνα γὰρ ὄφεως εὑρὼν ξύλον λεπ-

[1] ἦν γὰρ E: οὗτος ἦν SA.
[2] πέρδικος A: περδικας E, Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 493.
[3] Τάλω Diodorus Siculus, iv. 76. 4: ἀτάλω AS (*Rheinisches Museum*, xlvi. 1891, p. 618): ἀτταλω Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 493: ἀτάλην E.

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[1] As to the Minotaur and the Labyrinth, see above, iii. 1. 4.

[2] Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 490, and the Scholiast on Plato, *Ion*, p. 121 A, both of whom name the father and mother of Daedalus in agreement with Apollodorus. The father of Daedalus is called Eupalamus also by Suidas (*s.v.* Πέρδικος ἱερόν), the Scholiast on Plato (*Republic*, vii. p. 529 D), Hyginus (*Fab.* 39, 244, and 274), and Servius (on Virgil, vi. 14). He is called Palamaon by Pausanias (ix. 3. 2), and Metion, son of Eupalamus, son of Erechtheus, by Diodorus Siculus (iv. 76. 1). Our oldest authority for the parentage of Daedalus is Pherecydes, who says that the father of Daedalus was Metion, son of Erechtheus, and that his mother was Iphinoe (Scholiast on Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 472); and this tradition as to the father of Daedalus is supported by Plato (*Ion*, 4, p. 533 A). According to Clidemus, cited by Plutarch (*Theseus*, 19), Daedalus was a cousin of Theseus, his mother being Merope, daughter of Erechtheus. On the whole, tradition is in harmony with the statement of Pausanias (vii. 4. 5) "that Daedalus came of the royal house of Athens, the Metionids." Compare J. Töpffer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 165 *sqq.* Through the clouds of fable which gathered round

in a labyrinth, in which he who entered could not find his way out; for many a winding turn shut off the secret outward way.[1] The labyrinth was constructed by Daedalus, whose father was Eupalamus, son of Metion, and whose mother was Alcippe;[2] for he was an excellent architect and the first inventor of images. He had fled from Athens, because he had thrown down from the acropolis Talos, the son of his sister Perdix;[3] for Talos was his pupil, and Daedalus feared that with his talents he might surpass himself, seeing that he had sawed a thin stick

his life and adventures we may dimly discern the figure of a vagabond artist as versatile as Leonardo da Vinci and as unscrupulous as Benvenuto Cellini.

[3] As to Daedalus's murder of his nephew, his trial, and flight, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 76. 4–7; Pausanias, i. 21. 4, i. 26. 4, vii. 4. 5; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 490 *sqq.*; Suidas and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Πέρδικος ἱερόν; Apostolius, *Cent.* xiv. 17; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 1648; Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 236–259; Hyginus, *Fab.* 39 and 214; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 143 and on *Aen.* vi. 14; Isidore, *Orig.* xix. 19. 9. The name of the murdered nephew is commonly given as Talos, but according to Pausanias and Suidas (*ll.cc.*) it was Calos. On the other hand Sophocles, in his lost play *The Camicians* (cited by Suidas and Photius, *ll.cc.*) called him Perdix, that is, Partridge; and this name is accepted by Ovid, Hyginus, Servius, and Isidore. But according to a different tradition, here followed by Apollodorus, Perdix ("Partridge") was the name, not of the murdered nephew, but of his mother, the sister of Daedalus, who hanged herself in grief at the death of her son; the Athenians worshipped her and dedicated a sanctuary to her beside the acropolis (so Apostolius, Suidas, and Photius, *ll.cc.*). The grave of Talos or Calos was shown near the theatre, at the foot of the acropolis, probably on the spot where he was supposed to have fallen from the battlements (Pausanias, i. 21. 4). The trial of Daedalus before the Areopagus is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus and the Scholiast on Euripides (*ll.cc.*).

τὸν ἔπρισε. φωραθέντος δὲ τοῦ νεκροῦ κριθεὶς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ καὶ καταδικασθεὶς πρὸς Μίνωα ἔφυγε. [κἀκεῖ[1] Πασιφάη ἐρασθείσῃ[2] τοῦ Ποσειδωνείου[3] ταύρου συνήργησε[4] τεχνησάμενος ξυλίνην βοῦν, καὶ τὸν λαβύρινθον κατεσκεύασεν, εἰς ὃν κατὰ ἔτος Ἀθηναῖοι κόρους[5] ἑπτὰ καὶ κόρας τὰς ἴσας τῷ Μινωταύρῳ βορὰν ἔπεμπον.]

XVI. Θησεὺς δὲ γεννηθεὶς ἐξ Αἴθρας Αἰγεῖ παῖς, ὡς ἐγένετο[6] τέλειος, ἀπωσάμενος τὴν πέτραν τὰ πέδιλα καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ἀναιρεῖται, καὶ πεζὸς ἠπείγετο εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. φρουρουμένην[7] δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν κακούργων τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμέρωσε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Περιφήτην τὸν Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀντικλείας, ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς κορύνης ἣν ἐφόρει κορυνήτης ἐπεκαλεῖτο, ἔκτεινεν ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ. πόδας δὲ ἀσθενεῖς[8] ἔχων οὗτος ἐφόρει κορύνην σιδηρᾶν,[9] δι' ἧς τοὺς παριόντας ἔκτεινε. ταύτην ἀφελό-
2 μενος Θησεὺς ἐφόρει. δεύτερον δὲ κτείνει Σίνιν

[1] The passage enclosed in square brackets (κἀκεῖ Πασιφάης . . . βορὰν ἔπεμπον) is found in ESA, but is probably an interpolation, as Heyne observed. It is merely a repetition of what the author has already said (iii. i 4, iii. 15. 8).

[2] Πασιφάη ἐρασθείσῃ E : Πασιφάης ἐρασθείσης SA, Heyne, Müller, Westermann, Bekker, Wagner.

[3] Ποσειδωνείου E : Ποσειδῶνος Heyne, Müller, Westermann, Bekker, Wagner, following apparently the other MSS.

[4] συνήργησε E : συνήρτησε S : συνήρπασε A.

[5] κόρους ES : κούρους A. [6] ἐγένετο E : ἐγεννήθη SA.

[7] φρουρουμένην . . . τὴν ὁδὸν E : φρουρουμένης . . . τῆς ὁδοῦ A.

[8] ἀσθενεῖς A : βριαροὺς S.

[9] σιδηρᾶν. In S there follow the words ἣν ἀπὸ τὸν Ἡφαίστου Περιφήτην ἔλαβεν.

[1] He is said to have improved the discovery by inventing the iron saw in imitation of the teeth in a serpent's jawbone. See Diodorus Siculus, iv. 76. 5; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i.

with a jawbone of a snake which he had found.[1] But the corpse was discovered; Daedalus was tried in the Areopagus, and being condemned fled to Minos. And there Pasiphae having fallen in love with the bull of Poseidon, Daedalus acted as her accomplice by contriving a wooden cow, and he constructed the labyrinth, to which the Athenians every year sent seven youths and as many damsels to be fodder for the Minotaur.

XVI. Aethra bore to Aegeus a son Theseus, and when he was grown up, he pushed away the rock and took up the sandals and the sword,[2] and hastened on foot to Athens. And he cleared[3] the road, which had been beset by evildoers. For first in Epidaurus he slew Periphetes, son of Hephaestus and Anticlia, who was surnamed the Clubman from the club which he carried. For being crazy on his legs he carried an iron club, with which he despatched the passers-by. That club Theseus wrested from him and continued to carry about.[4] Second, he killed Sinis,

494 *sqq.* Latin writers held that the invention was suggested to him by the backbone of a fish. See Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 244 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 274; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 14; Isidore, *Orig.*, xix. 19. 9. According to these Latin writers, the ingenious artist invented the compass also. As to Talos or Perdix and his mechanical inventions, see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 724 *sqq.*

[1] The tokens of paternity left by his human father Aegeus. See above, iii. 15. 7.

[2] Literally, "tamed." As to the adventures of Theseus on his road to Athens, see Bacchylides, xvii. (xviii.) 16 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 59; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 8 *sqq.*; Pausanias, i. 44. 8, ii. 1. 3 *sq.*; Scholiast on Lucian, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 21, pp. 64 *sq.*, ed. H. Rabe; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 433 *sqq.*; *id. Ibis*, 407 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 38

[4] Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 59. 2; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 8. 1; Pausanias, ii. 1. 4; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 436 *sq.*;

τὸν Πολυπήμονος καὶ Συλέας τῆς Κορίνθου. οὗτος πιτυοκάμπτης ἐπεκαλεῖτο· οἰκῶν γὰρ τὸν Κορινθίων ἰσθμὸν ἠνάγκαζε τοὺς παριόντας πίτυς κάμπτοντας ἀνέχεσθαι· οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν οὐκ ἠδύναντο,[1] καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δένδρων ἀναρριπτούμενοι πανωλέθρως ἀπώλλυντο. τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ Θησεὺς Σίνιν ἀπέκτεινεν.

[1] ἠδύναντο. E and apparently A add κάμπτειν, which was rightly rejected as a gloss by Heyne and omitted by Hercher. It is retained by Westermann, Bekker, and Wagner, and bracketed by Müller.

Hyginus, *Fab.* 38. Periphetes dwelt in Epidaurus, which Theseus had to traverse on his way from Troezen to the Isthmus of Corinth. No writer but Apollodorus mentions that this malefactor was weak on his legs; the infirmity suggests that he may have used his club as a crutch on which to hobble along like a poor cripple, till he was within striking distance of his unsuspecting victims, when he surprised them by suddenly lunging out and felling them to the ground.

[1] Compare Bacchylides, xvii (xviii.) 19 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 59. 3; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 8. 2; Pausanias, ii. 1. 4; Scholiast on Lucian, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 21; Scholiast on Pindar, *Isthm., Argum.* p. 514, ed Boeckh; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 440 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 38. Bacchylides, the Scholiast on Pindar, and Hyginus call Sinis a son of Poseidon (Neptune). The ancients are not agreed as to the exact mode in which the ruffian Sinis despatched his victims. According to Diodorus, Pausanias, and the Scholiast on Pindar he bent two pine-trees to the ground, tied the extremities of his victim to both trees, and then let the trees go, which, springing up and separating, tore the wretch's body in two. This atrocious form of murder was at a later time actually employed by the emperor Aurelian in a military execution. See Vopiscus, *Aurelian*, 7. 4. A Ruthenian pirate, named Botho, is said to have put men to death in similar fashion. See Saxo Grammaticus, *Historia Danica*, bk. vii.

son of Polypemon and Sylea, daughter of Corinthus. This Sinis was surnamed the Pine-bender; for inhabiting the Isthmus of Corinth he used to force the passers-by to keep bending pine-trees; but they were too weak to do so, and being tossed up by the trees they perished miserably. In that way also Theseus killed Sinis.[1]

vol. i. pp. 353 *sq.*, ed. P. E. Müller. According to Hyginus, Sinis, with the help of his victim, dragged down a pine-tree to the earth; then, when the man was struggling to keep the tree down, Sinis released it, and in the rebound the man was tossed up into the air and killed by falling heavily to the ground. Apollodorus seems to have contemplated a similar mode of death, except that he does not mention the co-operation of Sinis in bending the tree to the earth. According to the *Parian Chronicle* (*Marmor Parium*, lines 35 *sq.*) it was not on his journey from Troezen to Athens that Theseus killed Sinis, but at a later time, after he had come to the throne and united the whole of Attica under a single government; he then returned to the Isthmus of Corinth, killed Sinis, and celebrated the Isthmian games. This tradition seems to imply that Theseus held the games as a funeral honour paid to the dead man, or more probably as an expiation to appease the angry ghost of his victim. This implication is confirmed by the Scholiast on Pindar (*l.c.*), who says that according to some people Theseus held the Isthmian games in honour of Sinis, whom he had killed. Plutarch tells us (*l.c.*) that when Theseus had killed Sinis, the daughter of the dead man, by name Perigune, fled and hid herself in a bed of asparagus; that she bore a son Melanippus to Theseus, and that Melanippus had a son Ioxus, whose descendants, the Ioxids, both men and women, revered and honoured asparagus and would not burn it, because asparagus had once sheltered their ancestress. This hereditary respect shown by all the members of a family or clan for a particular species of plant is reminiscent of totemism, though it is not necessarily a proof of it.

EPITOME

APOLLODORI BIBLIOTHECA EPITOMA

EX EPITOMA VATICANA ET FRAGMENTIS SABBAITICIS COMPOSITA[1]

E 1. Τρίτην ἔκτεινεν ἐν Κρομμυῶνι σὺν τὴν καλουμένην Φαιὰν ἀπο[2] τῆς θηρεύσεως γραὸς αὐτήν· ταύτην τινὲς Ἐλίσσης καὶ Τυφῶνος λεγουσι.
2 τέταρτον ἔκτεινε Σκείρωνα τὸν Κορίνθιον τοῦ Πέλοπος, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι Ποσειδῶνος. οὗτος ἐν τῇ Μεγαρικῇ κατέχων τὰς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ κληθείσας πέτρας Σκειρωνίδας, ἠνάγκαζε τοὺς παριόντας νίζειν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας, καὶ νίζοντας εἰς τὸν βυθὸν αὐτοὺς ἔρριπτε βορὰν ὑπερμεγέθει χελώνῃ.
3 Θησεὺς δὲ ἁρπάσας αὐτὸν τῶν ποδῶν ἔρριψεν <εἰς τὴν θαλασσαν>.[3] πέμπτον ἔκτεινεν ἐν

[1] The passages derived from the Vatican and Sabbaitic manuscripts respectively are indicated in the margin by the letters E (= Vatican Epitome) and S (= Sabbaitic). The combination ES signifies that the passage is found in both manuscripts, though sometimes with variations, which are indicated in the Critical Notes. The point of transition from the one manuscript to the other, or from one to both, or from both to one, is marked by a vertical line in the Greek text.

[2] ἀπὸ Wagner: ὑπὸ E.

[3] εἰς τὴν θαλασσαν added by Wagner, comparing Scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 979, ῥίψας εἰς θάλασσαν, and Pausanias, i. 44. 8, ἀφεθέντα ἐς θάλασσαν.

EPITOME OF *THE LIBRARY* OF APOLLODORUS

COMPOUNDED OF THE VATICAN EPITOME AND THE SABBAITIC FRAGMENTS

I. Third, he slew at Crommyon the sow that was called Phaea after the old woman who bred it;[1] that sow, some say, was the offspring of Echidna and Typhon. Fourth, he slew Sciron, the Corinthian, son of Pelops, or, as some say, of Poseidon. He in the Megarian territory held the rocks called after him Scironian, and compelled passers-by to wash his feet, and in the act of washing he kicked them into the deep to be the prey of a huge turtle. But Theseus seized him by the feet and threw him into the sea.[2]

[1] Compare Bacchylides, xvii. (xviii.) 23 *sq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 59. 4; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 9; Pausanias, ii. 1. 3; Hyginus, *Fab.* 38, who calls the animal a boar. Plutarch notices a rationalistic version of the story, which converted the sow Phaea into a female robber of that name. No ancient writer but Apollodorus mentions the old woman Phaea who nursed the sow, but she appears on vase paintings which represent the slaughter of the sow by Theseus. See Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Alterthums*, iii. pp. 1787 *sq.*, 1789, fig. 1873; Höfer, in W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 1450 *sq.*

[2] Compare Bacchylides, xvii. (xviii.) 24 *sq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 59. 4; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 10; Pausanias, i. 44. 8; Scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 979; Scholiast on Lucian, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 21, p. 65, ed. H. Rabe; Ovid, *Metamorph.*

Ἐλευσῖνι Κερκυόνα τὸν Βρίγχου καὶ Ἀργιόπης νύμφης. οὗτος ἠνάγκαζε τοὺς παριόντας παλαίειν καὶ παλαίων ἀνῄρει· Θησεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν μετέωρον
4 ἀράμενος ἔρραξεν εἰς γῆν. ἕκτον ἀπέκτεινε Δαμάστην, ὃν ἔνιοι Πολυπήμονα λέγουσιν. οὗτος τὴν

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vii. 443 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 38; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* i. 333; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed G. H. Bode, vol. i pp. 52, 117 (First Vatican Mythographer, 167; Second Vatican Mythographer, 127). Curiously enough, the Second Vatican Mythographer attributes the despatching of Sciron, not to Theseus, but to the artist Daedalus. The Megarians, as we learn from Plutarch, indignantly denied the defamatory reports current as to the character and pursuits of their neighbour Sciron, whom they represented as a most respectable man, the foe of robbers, the friend of the virtuous, and connected by marriage with families of the highest quality; but their efforts to whitewash the blackguard appear to have been attended with little success. The Scironian Rocks, to which Sciron was supposed to have given his name, are a line of lofty cliffs rising sheer from the sea; a narrow, crumbling ledge about half way up their face afforded a perilous foothold, from which the adventurous traveller looked down with horror on the foam of the breakers far below. The dangers of the path were obviated about the middle of the nineteenth century by the construction of a road and railway along the coast. See my note on Pausanias, i. 44. 6 (vol. ii. pp. 546 *sqq.*).

[1] Compare Bacchylides, xvii. (xviii.) 26 *sq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 59. 5; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 11; Pausanias, i. 39. 3; Scholast on Lucian, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 21, p. 65, ed. H. Rabe; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 439; Hyginus, *Fab.* 38, who calls Cercyon a son of Vulcan (Hephaestus). The place associated with the story, known as the wrestling-school of Cercyon, was near Eleusis, on the road to Megara (Pausanias, *l.c.*). The Scholast on Lucian (*l.c.*) says that it was near Eleutherae, but he is probably in error; for if the place were near Eleutherae, it must have been on the road from Eleusis to Thebes, which is not the road that Theseus would take on his way from the Isthmus of Corinth to Athens.

Fifth, in Eleusis he slew Cercyon, son of Branchus and a nymph Argiope. This Cercyon compelled passers-by to wrestle, and in wrestling killed them. But Theseus lifted him up on high and dashed him to the ground.[1] Sixth, he slew Damastes, whom some call Polypemon.[2]

[2] More commonly known as Procrustes. See Bacchylides, xvii. (xviii.) 27 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 59. 5; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 11; Pausanias, i. 38. 5; Scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 977; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 438; Hyginus, *Fab.* 38. Ancient authorities are not agreed as to the name of this malefactor. Apollodorus and Plutarch call him Damastes; but Apollodorus says that some people called him Polypemon, and this latter name is supported by Pausanias, who adds that he was surnamed Procrustes. Ovid in two passages (*Metam.* vii. 438, *Heroides*, ii. 69) calls him simply Procrustes, but in a third passage (*Ibis*, 407) he seems to speak of him as the son of Polypemon. The Scholiast on Euripides (*l.c.*) wrongly names him Sinis. The reference of Bacchylides to him is difficult of interpretation. Jebb translates the passage: "The mighty hammer of Polypemon has dropt from the hand of the Maimer [*Prokoptes*], who has met with a stronger than himself." Here Jebb understands *Prokoptes* to be another name for Procrustes, who received the hammer and learned the use of it from Polypemon, his predecessor, perhaps his father. But other translations and explanations have been proposed See the note in Jebb's Appendix, pp. 490 *sq.*; W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, iii. 2683, 2687 *sqq.* The hammer in question was the instrument with which Procrustes operated on the short men, beating them out till they fitted the long bed, as we learn from the Scholiast on Euripides as well as from Apollodorus; a hand-saw was probably the instrument with which he curtailed the length of the tall men. According to Apollodorus, with whom Hyginus agrees, Procrustes had two beds for the accommodation of his guests, a long one for the short men, and a short one for the long men. But according to Diodorus Siculus, with whom the Scholiast on Euripides agrees, he had only one bed for all comers, and adjusted his visitors to it with the hammer or the hand-saw according to circumstances.

οἴκησιν ἔχων παρ' ὁδὸν ἐστόρεσε δύο κλίνας, μίαν μὲν μικράν, ἑτέραν δὲ μεγάλην, καὶ τοὺς παριόντας ἐπὶ ξένια[1] καλῶν τοὺς μὲν βραχεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης κατακλίνων σφύραις ἔτυπτεν, ἵν' ἐξισωθῶσι[2] τῇ κλίνῃ,[3] τοὺς δὲ μεγάλους ἐπὶ τῆς μικρᾶς, καὶ τὰ ὑπερέχοντα τοῦ σώματος ἀπέπριζε.

Καθάρας οὖν Θησεὺς τὴν ὁδὸν ἦκεν εἰς Ἀθήνας.[4]

ES 5 | Μήδεια δὲ Αἰγεῖ τότε συνοικοῦσα[5] ἐπεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πείθει τὸν Αἰγέα φυλάττεσθαι ὡς ἐπίβουλον αὐτῷ.[6] Αἰγεὺς δὲ τὸν ἴδιον ἀγνοῶν παῖδα, δείσας[7] ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Μαραθώνιον ταῦρον.[8]

6 ὡς δὲ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτόν, παρὰ Μηδείας λαβὼν αὐθημερον[9] προσήνεγκεν αὐτῷ φάρμακον. ὁ δὲ μέλλοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ποτοῦ προσφέρεσθαι ἐδωρήσατο τῷ πατρὶ τὸ ξίφος, ὅπερ ἐπιγνοὺς Αἰγεὺς[10] τὴν κύλικα ἐξέρριψε τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ. Θησεὺς δὲ

[1] ξένια Wagner : ξενίαν E. Compare iii. 8. 1.

[2] ἐξισωθῶσι Wagner : ἐξισωθῇ E.

[3] τῇ κλίνῃ Frazer : ταῖς κλίναις E, Wagner.

[4] καθάρας οὖν Θησεὺς τὴν ὁδὸν ἦκεν εἰς Ἀθήνας E. The whole opening passage, down to and inclusive of this sentence, is wanting in S, which substitutes the following : ἔκτεινε δὲ πάντας καὶ κατετροπωσατο τοὺς ἀντιπράττοντας ἥρωας καὶ πάντας τοὺς ληστρικὸν μετιόντας βίον. "And he slew all and put to flight the heroes that withstood him and all that pursued a robber life." But the verb κατατροπόομαι is late, the use of ἥρως is suspicious, and the whole sentence is probably an independent concoction of the abbreviator.

[5] συνοικοῦσα E : συνοικοῦσα Ἀθήναις S.

[6] αὐτῷ Frazer : αὐτοῦ ES, Wagner : αὐτόν Bücheler. For the dative, compare Plato, *Symposium*, p. 203 D, ἐπίβουλός ἐστι τοῖς καλοῖς.

[7] δείσας E : δείσας αὐτὸν ὡς βριαρὸν ὄντα S. The rare epic adjective βριαρός, "strong," seems to be rather a favourite with S, for he goes out of his way to apply it absurdly to the crazy legs of Periphetes. See Critical Note on iii. 16. 1.

He had his dwelling beside the road, and made up two beds, one small and the other big; and offering hospitality to the passers-by, he laid the short men on the big bed and hammered them, to make them fit the bed; but the tall men he laid on the little bed and sawed off the portions of the body that projected beyond it.

So, having cleared the road, Theseus came to Athens. But Medea, being then wedded to Aegeus, plotted against him[1] and persuaded Aegeus to beware of him as a traitor. And Aegeus, not knowing his own son, was afraid and sent him against the Marathonian bull. And when Theseus had killed it, Aegeus presented to him a poison which he had received the selfsame day from Medea. But just as the draught was about to be administered to him, he gave his father the sword, and on recognizing it Aegeus dashed the cup from his hands.[2] And when

[1] That Theseus was sent against the Marathonian bull at the instigation of Medea is affirmed also by the First Vatican Mythographer. See *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 18, *Fab.* 48. Compare Plutarch, *Theseus*, 14; Pausanias, i. 27. 10; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 433 *sq.* As to Medea at Athens, see above, i. 9. 28.

[2] Compare Plutarch, *Theseus*, 12; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xi. 741; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 404–424. According to Ovid, the poison by which Medea attempted the life of Theseus was aconite, which she had brought with her from Scythia. The incident seems to have been narrated by Sophocles in his tragedy *Aegeus*. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 15 *sq.*

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[8] ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Μαραθώνιον ταῦρον E: ἐπὶ τὸν Μαραθώνιον ἔπεμψε ταῦρον ἀναλωθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ S.

[9] αὐθήμερον S: αὐθημερινὸν E.

[10] ἐπιγνοὺς Αἰγεὺς E: Αἰγεὺς ἐπιγνοὺς S.

ἀναγνωρισθεὶς τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν μαθὼν
ἐξέβαλε τὴν Μήδειαν.

7 Καὶ εἰς τὸν τρίτον δασμὸν τῷ Μινωταύρῳ συγ-
E καταλέγεται[1] | ὡς δέ τινες λέγουσιν, ἑκὼν ἑαυτὸν
ἔδωκεν. ἐχούσης δὲ τῆς νεὼς μέλαν ἱστίον Αἰγεὺς
τῷ παιδὶ ἐνετείλατο, ἐὰν ὑποστρέφῃ ζῶν, λευκοῖς
ES 8 πετάσαι τὴν ναῦν ἱστίοις. | ὡς δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Κρήτην,[2]
Ἀριάδνη θυγάτηρ Μίνωος ἐρωτικῶς διατεθεῖσα
πρὸς αὐτὸν[3] συμπράσσειν[4] ἐπαγγέλλεται,[5] ἐὰν
ὁμολογήσῃ γυναῖκα αὐτὴν ἕξειν ἀπαγαγὼν εἰς
Ἀθήνας. ὁμολογησαντος δὲ σὺν ὅρκοις Θησέως
δεῖται Δαιδάλου μηνῦσαι τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τὴν
9 ἔξοδον. ὑποθεμένου δὲ ἐκείνου, λίνον εἰσιόντι
Θησεῖ δίδωσι· τοῦτο ἐξάψας Θησεὺς τῆς θύρας[6]
ἐφελκόμενος εἰσῄει. καταλαβὼν δὲ Μινώταυρον

[1] συγκαταλέγεται E : συγκαταλέγει βορὰν S.
[2] ὡς δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Κρήτην E : ἐξέπλει δ' εἰς Κρήτην καὶ ἦκεν S.
[3] Ἀριάδνη θυγάτηρ Μίνωος ἐρωτικῶς διατεθεῖσα πρὸς αὐτὸν E : Ἀριάδνη γοῦν ἡ Μίνωος θυγάτηρ ἐρωτικῶς τῷ Θησεῖ διατεθεῖσα S.
[4] συμπράσσειν S : συμπεράσειν E.
[5] ἐπαγγέλλεται E : ἐπαγγέλλεται πρὸς τὴν Μινωταύρου εἰσέλευσιν λαβυρίνθου S.
[6] Θησεὺς τῆς θύρας E : τῆς θύρας Θησεὺς S.

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[1] Compare Plutarch, *Theseus*, 17; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 320, p. 1688; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 322, and on *Il.* xviii. 590; Hyginus, *Fab.* 41; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Achill.* 192. The usual tradition seems to have been that he volunteered for the dangerous service; but a Scholiast on Homer (*Il.* xviii. 590) speaks as if the lot had fallen on him with the other victims. According to Hellanicus, cited by Plutarch (*l.c.*), the victims were not chosen by lot, but Minos came to Athens and picked them for himself, and on this particular occasion Theseus was the first on whom his choice fell.

[2] As to the black and white sails, see Diodorus Siculus, :

Theseus was thus made known to his father and informed of the plot, he expelled Medea.

And he was numbered among those who were to be sent as the third tribute to the Minotaur ; or, as some affirm, he offered himself voluntarily.[1] And as the ship had a black sail, Aegeus charged his son, if he returned alive, to spread white sails on the ship.[2] And when he came to Crete, Ariadne, daughter of Minos, being amorously disposed to him, offered to help him if he would agree to carry her away to Athens and have her to wife. Theseus having agreed on oath to do so, she besought Daedalus to disclose the way out of the labyrinth. And at his suggestion she gave Theseus a clue when he went in ; Theseus fastened it to the door, and, drawing it after him, entered in.[3] And having found

61. 4 ; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 17 and 22 ; Pausanias, i. 22. 5 ; Catullus, lxiv. 215–245 ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 41 and 43 ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 74. According to Simonides, quoted by Plutarch (*l.c.*), the sail that was to be the sign of safety was not white but scarlet, which, by contrast with the blue sea, would have caught the eye almost as easily as a white sail at a great distance.

[3] Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 322, and on *Il.* xviii. 590 ; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 320, p. 1688 ; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 61. 4 ; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 19 ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 42 ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 14, and on *Georg.* i. 222 ; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* xii. 676 ; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 16, 116 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 43 ; Second Vatican Mythographer, 124). The clearest description of the clue, with which the amorous Ariadne furnished Theseus, is given by the Scholiasts and Eustathius on Homer (*ll.cc.*). From them we learn that it was a ball of thread which Ariadne had begged of Daedalus for the use of her lover. He was to fasten one end of the thread to the lintel of the door on entering into the labyrinth, and holding the ball in his hand to unwind the skein while he penetrated deeper and deeper into

ἐν ἐσχάτῳ μέρει τοῦ λαβυρίνθου παίων πυγμαῖς
ἀπέκτεινεν,[1] ἐφελκόμενος δὲ τὸ λίνον πάλιν ἐξῆει.
καὶ διὰ νυκτὸς μετὰ Ἀριάδνης καὶ τῶν παίδων
εἰς Νάξον ἀφικνεῖται. ἔνθα Διόνυσος ἐρασθεὶς
Ἀριάδνης ἥρπασε, καὶ κομίσας εἰς Λῆμνον ἐμίγη.
S | καὶ γεννᾷ Θόαντα Στάφυλον Οἰνοπίωνα καὶ
Πεπάρηθον.[2]
E 10 | Λυπούμενος δὲ Θησεὺς ἐπ' Ἀριάδνῃ καταπλέων
ἐπελάθετο πετάσαι τὴν ναῦν λευκοῖς ἱστίοις.
Αἰγεὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τὴν ναῦν ἰδὼν
ἔχουσαν μέλαν ἱστίον, Θησέα νομίσας ἀπολω-
ES 11 λέναι ῥίψας ἑαυτὸν μετήλλαξε. | Θησεὺς δὲ παρέ-

[1] ἀπέκτεινεν E : ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν S.
[2] Πεπάρηθον Bücheler : πάρηθον S.

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the maze, till he found the Minotaur asleep in the inmost recess; then he was to catch the monster by the hair and sacrifice him to Poseidon; after which he was to retrace his steps, gathering up the thread behind him as he went. According to the Scholiast on the *Odyssey* (*l.c.*), the story was told by Pherecydes, whom later authors may have copied.

[1] That is, the boys and girls whom he had rescued from the Minotaur.

[2] Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 61. 5; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 20; Pausanias, i. 20. 3, x. 29. 4; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iii. 997; Scholiast on Theocritus, ii. 45; Catullus, lxiv. 116 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Heroides*, x.; *id. Ars amat.* i. 527 *sqq.*; *id. Metamorph.* viii. 174 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 43; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 222; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 116 *sq.* (Second Vatican Mythographer, 124). Homer's account of the fate of Ariadne is different. He says (*Od.* xi. 321–325) that when Theseus was carrying off Ariadne from Crete to Athens she was slain by Artemis in the island of Dia at the instigation of Dionysus. Later writers, such as Diodorus Siculus, identified Dia with Naxos, but it is rather "the little island, now

the Minotaur in the last part of the labyrinth, he killed him by smiting him with his fists; and drawing the clue after him made his way out again. And by night he arrived with Ariadne and the children[1] at Naxos. There Dionysus fell in love with Ariadne and carried her off;[2] and having brought her to Lemnos he enjoyed her, and begat Thoas, Staphylus, Oenopion, and Peparethus.[3]

In his grief on account of Ariadne, Theseus forgot to spread white sails on his ship when he stood for port; and Aegeus, seeing from the acropolis the ship with a black sail, supposed that Theseus had perished; so he cast himself down and died.[4] But Theseus

Standia just off Heraklion, on the north coast of Crete. Theseus would pass the island in sailing for Athens" (W. W. Merry on Homer, *Od.* xi. 322). Apollodorus seems to be the only extant ancient author who mentions that Dionysus carried off Ariadne from Naxos to Lemnos and had intercourse with her there.

[3] Compare Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iii. 997. Others said that Ariadne bore Staphylus and Oenopion to Theseus (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 20).

[4] Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 61. 6 *sq.*; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 22; Pausanias, i. 22. 5; Hyginus, *Fab.* 43; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 74; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 117 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 125). The three Latin writers say that Aegeus threw himself into the sea, which was hence called the Aegean after him. The Greek writers say that he cast himself down from the rock of the acropolis. Pausanias describes the exact point from which he fell, to wit the lofty bastion at the western end of the acropolis, on which in after ages the elegant little temple of Wingless Victory stood and still stands. It commands a wonderful view over the ports of Athens and away across the sea to Aegina and the coast of Peloponnese, looming clear and blue through the diaphanous Attic air in the far distance. A better look-out the old man could not have chosen from which to watch, with straining eyes, for the white or scarlet sail of his returning son.

S λαβε[1] τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἐυναστείαν, <καὶ>[2] τοὺς μὲν Πάλλαντος παῖδας πεντήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπέκτεινεν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἀντᾶραι ἤθελον παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπεκτάνθησαν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἅπασαν ἔσχε μόνος.

E 12 Ὅτι Μίνως, αἰσθόμενος τοῦ φεύγειν τοὺς μετὰ Θησέως, Δαίδαλον αἴτιον ἐν τῷ λαβυρίνθῳ μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰκάρου καθεῖρξεν, ὃς ἐγεγέννητο αὐτῷ ἐκ δούλης Μίνωος Ναυκράτης. ὁ δὲ πτερὰ κατασκευάσας ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῷ παιδὶ ἀναπτάντι εἰετείλατο μήτε εἰς ὕψος πέτεσθαι, μὴ τακείσης τῆς κόλλης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου αἱ πτέρυγες λυθῶσι, μήτε ἐγγὺς θαλασσης, ἵνα μὴ τὰ πτερὰ ὑπὸ τῆς νοτί-
13 δος λυθῇ. Ἴκαρος δὲ ἀμελήσας τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐντολῶν ψυχαγωγούμενος ἀεὶ μετέωρος ἐφέρετο· τακείσης δὲ τῆς κόλλης πεσὼν εἰς τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν Ἰκαρίαν θάλασσαν ἀπέθανε. <Δαί-

12 Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 92:[3] Δαίδαλον γὰρ σὺν Ἰκάρῳ τῷ παιδὶ καθεῖρξε Μίνως ἐν τῷ λαβυρίνθῳ, δι' ὅπερ εἰργάσατο μῦσος ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς Πασιφάης ἔρωτι τῷ πρὸς τὸν ταῦρον. ὁ δὲ πτερὰ κατασκευάσας ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῷ παιδὶ ἐξῆλθε τοῦ λαβυρίνθου καὶ ἀναπτάμενος ἔφυγε σὺν Ἰκάρῳ.
13 Ἰκάρου μὲν οὖν μετεωρότερον φερομένου καὶ τῆς κόλλης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου τακείσης, αἱ πτέρυγες διελύθησαν. καὶ οὗτος μὲν εἰς τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθὲν Ἰκάριον πέλαγος κυτα-

[1] Θησεὺς δὲ παρέλαβε E: Θησεὺς παραλαβὼν S.
[2] καὶ τοὺς μὲν Frazer: τοὺς μὲν S, Wagner.
[3] The version of Zenobius, which is probably based on that of Apollodorus, is here printed for comparison.

[1] Pallas was the brother of Aegeus (see above, iii. 15. 5); hence his fifty sons were cousins to Theseus. So long as Aegeus was childless, his nephews hoped to succeed to the

succeeded to the sovereignty of Athens, and killed the sons of Pallas, fifty in number;[1] likewise all who would oppose him were killed by him, and he got the whole government to himself.

On being apprized of the flight of Theseus and his company, Minos shut up the guilty Daedalus in the labyrinth, along with his son Icarus, who had been borne to Daedalus by Naucrate, a female slave of Minos. But Daedalus constructed wings for himself and his son, and enjoined his son, when he took to flight, neither to fly high, lest the glue should melt in the sun and the wings should drop off, nor to fly near the sea, lest the pinions should be detached by the damp. But the infatuated Icarus, disregarding his father's injunctions, soared ever higher, till, the glue melting, he fell into the sea called after him Icarian, and perished.[2] But Daedalus made his way safely to

throne; but when Theseus appeared from Troezen, claiming to be the king's son and his heir apparent, they were disappointed and objected to his succession, on the ground that he was a stranger and a foreigner. Accordingly, when Theseus succeeded to the crown, Pallas and his fifty sons rebelled against him, but were defeated and slain. See Plutarch, *Theseus*, 3 and 13; Pausanias, i. 22. 2, i. 28. 10; Scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 35, who quotes from Philochorus a passage about the rebellion. In order to be purified from the guilt incurred by killing his cousins, Theseus went into banishment for a year along with his wife Phaedra. The place of their exile was Troezen, where Theseus had been born; and it was there that Phaedra saw and conceived a fatal passion for her stepson Hippolytus, and laid the plot of death. See Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 34 *sqq.*; Pausanias, i 22. 2. According to a different tradition, Theseus was tried for murder before the court of the Delphinium at Athens, and was acquitted on the plea of justifiable homicide (Pausanias, i. 28. 10).

[2] Compare Strabo, xiv. 1. 19, p. 639; Lucian, *Gallus*, 23; Arrian, *Anabasis*, vii. 20. 5; Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 92. J.

δαλος δὲ διασώζεται εἰς Κάμικον τῆς Σικελίας.>[1]
14 Δαίδαλον δὲ ἐδίωκε Μίνως, καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην χώραν ἐρευνῶν ἐκόμιζε κόχλον, καὶ πολὺν ἐπηγγέλλετο δώσειν μισθὸν τῷ διὰ τοῦ κοχλίου λίνον διείραντι,[2] διὰ τούτου νομίζων εὑρήσειν Δαίδαλον. ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Κάμικον τῆς Σικελίας παρὰ Κώκαλον, παρ' ᾧ Δαίδαλος ἐκρύπτετο, δείκνυσι τὸν κοχλίαν. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἐπηγγέλλετο διείρειν[3] καὶ Δαιδάλῳ
15 δίδωσιν· ὁ δὲ ἐξάψας μύρμηκος λίνον καὶ τρήσας τὸν κοχλίαν εἴασε δι' αὐτοῦ διελθεῖν. λαβὼν δὲ Μίνως τὸ λίνον διειρμένον[4] ᾔσθετο ὄντα παρ' ἐκείνῳ Δαίδαλον, καὶ εὐθέως ἀπῄτει. Κώκαλος δὲ ὑποσχόμενος ἐκδώσειν ἐξένισεν αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ

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14 πίπτει, Δαίδαλος δὲ διασώζεται. ὁ Μίνως οὖν ἐδίωκε Δαίδαλον καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην χώραν ἐρευνῶν ἐκόμιζε κόχλον, καὶ πολὺν ὑπισχνεῖτο δοῦναι μισθὸν τῷ διὰ τοῦ κοχλίου λίνον διείραντι, διὰ τούτου νομίζων εὑρήσειν Δαίδαλον. ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Κώκαλον, παρ' ᾧ Δαίδαλος ἐκρύπτετο, δείκνυσι τὸν κοχλίαν. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἐπηγγέλλετο διείρειν
15 καὶ Δαιδάλῳ δίδωσιν· ὁ δὲ ἐξάψας μύρμηκος λίνον καὶ τρήσας τὸν κοχλίαν εἴασε δι' αὐτοῦ διελθεῖν. λαβὼν δὲ Μίνως τὸν λίνον διειρμένον ᾔσθετο εἶναι παρ' ἐκείνῳ τὸν Δαίδαλον, καὶ εὐθέως ἀπῄτει· Κώκαλος δὲ ὑποσχόμενος δώσειν ἐξένισεν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ λουσάμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Κωκάλου θυγατέρων ἀνῃρέθη ζέουσαν πίσσαν ἐπιχεαμένων αὐτῷ.

[1] Δαίδαλος δὲ διασώζεται εἰς Κάμικον τῆς Σικελίας inserted by Wagner from a comparison with Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 92 and Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 506, Ὁ Δαίδαλος δ' εἰς Κάμινον (*sic*) σώζεται Σικελίας.

[2] διείραντι Valckenar: διείρξαντι E: διείξαντι Zenobius.

[3] διείρειν Valckenar: διείρξειν E: διέρξειν Zenobius.

[4] διειρμένον Valckenar: διειργμένον E: διειργασμένον Zenobius.

Camicus in Sicily. And Minos pursued Daedalus, and in every country that he searched he carried a spiral shell and promised to give a great reward to him who should pass a thread through the shell, believing that by that means he should discover Daedalus. And having come to Camicus in Sicily, to the court of Cocalus, with whom Daedalus was concealed, he showed the spiral shell. Cocalus took it, and promised to thread it, and gave it to Daedalus; and Daedalus fastened a thread to an ant, and, having bored a hole in the spiral shell, allowed the ant to pass through it. But when Minos found the thread passed through the shell, he perceived that Daedalus was with Cocalus, and at once demanded his surrender.[1] Cocalus promised to surrender him, and made an entertainment for

Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 498 *sqq.*; Severus, *Narr.* 5, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci*, *Appendix Narrationum*, 32, p. 373; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 145; Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 183–235; Hyginus, *Fab.* 40; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i pp. 16 and 117 (First Vatican Mythographer, 43, Second Vatican Mythographer, 125). According to one account, Daedalus landed from his flight at Cumae, where he dedicated his wings to Apollo. See Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 14 *sqq.*; Juvenal, iii. 25. The myth of the flight of Daedalus and Icarus is rationalized by Diodorus Siculus (iv. 77. 5 *sq.*) and Pausanias (ix. 11. 4 *sq.*). According to Diodorus, the two were provided by Pasiphae with a ship in which they escaped, but in landing on a certain island Icarus fell into the sea and was drowned. According to Pausanias, father and son sailed in separate ships, scudding before the wind with sails, which Daedalus had just invented and spread for the first time to the sea breeze. The only writer besides Apollodorus who mentions the name of Icarus's mother is Tzetzes; he agrees with Apollodorus, whom he may have copied, in describing her as a slave woman named Naucrate.

[1] The story of the quaint device by which Minos detected Daedalus is repeated by Zenobius (*Cent.* iv. 92), who probably copied Apollodorus. See above, pp. 138, 140. The device was

λουσάμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Κωκάλου θυγατέρων ἔκλυτος ἐγένετο·[1] ὡς δὲ ἔνιοί φασι, ζεστῷ καταχυθεὶς <ὕδατι>[2] μετήλλαξεν.

ES 16 | Συστρατευσάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀμαζόνας Ἡρακλεῖ
S ἥρπασεν[3] | Ἀντιόπην, ὡς δέ τινες Μελανίππην, Σιμωνίδης δὲ Ἱππολύτην.[4] διὸ ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ'

[1] ἔκλυτος ἐγένετο. These words can hardly be right. The required sense is given by Zenobius, ἀνῃρέθη. Perhaps we should read ἐν λουτροῖς ἀπέθανεν or ἀπώλετο. Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 79. 2, κατὰ τὸν λουτρῶνα ὠλίσθηκε καὶ πεσὼν εἰς τὸ θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἐτελεύτησε. But see Exegetical Note.

[2] ζεστῷ καταχυθεὶς ὕδατι Wagner (comparing Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 145, ἀποθνήσκει καταχυθέντος αὐτοῦ ζεστοῦ ὕδατος): ξεστῷ καταλυθεὶς E.

[3] συστρατευσάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀμαζόνας Ἡρακλεῖ ἥρπασεν S: ὅτι Θησεὺς Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Ἀμαζόνας ἥρπασε E.

[4] Ἀντιόπην . . . Ἱππολύτην S: Γλαύκην τὴν καὶ Μελανίππην E.

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mentioned by Sophocles in a lost play, *The Camicians*, in which he dealt with the residence of Daedalus at the court of Cocalus in Sicily. See Athenaeus, iii. 32, p. 86 C D; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, ii. 3 *sqq.*

[1] Compare Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 92; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 79. 2; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 508 *sq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 145; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 59 (95); Ovid, *Ibis*, 289 *sq.*, with the Scholia. The account of Zenobius agrees closely with that of Apollodorus, except that he makes the daughters of Cocalus pour boiling pitch instead of boiling water on the head of their royal guest. The other authorities speak of boiling water. The Scholiast on Pindar informs us that the ever ingenious Daedalus persuaded the princesses to lead a pipe through the roof, which discharged a stream of boiling water on Minos while he was disporting himself in the bath. Other writers mention the agency of the daughters of Cocalus in the murder of Minos, without describing the mode of his taking off. See Pausanias, vii. 4. 6; Conon, *Narrat.* 25; Hyginus, *Fab.* 44. Herodotus contents himself with saying (vii. 169 *sq.*) that Minos died a violent death at Camicus in Sicily, whither he had gone in search of Daedalus. The Greek expression which I have translated "was undone" (ἔκλυτος ἐγένετο) is peculiar. If the text is sound (see Critical

Minos; but after his bath Minos was undone by the daughters of Cocalus; some say, however, that he died through being drenched with boiling water.[1]

Theseus joined Hercules in his expedition against the Amazons and carried off Antiope, or, as some say, Melanippe; but Simonides calls her Hippolyte.[2]

Note), the words must be equivalent to ἐξελύθη, "was relaxed, unstrung, or unnerved." Compare Aristotle, *Problem* i. p. 862 b 2 *sq.*, ed. Bekker, κατεψυγμένου παντὸς τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἐκλελυμένου πρὸς τοὺς πόνους. Aristotle also uses the adjective ἔκλυτος to express a supple, nerveless, or effeminate motion of the hands (*Physiog.* 3, p. 808 a 14); and he says that tame elephants were trained to strike wild elephants, ἕως ἂν ἐκλύσωσιν (αὐτούς), "until they relax or weaken them" (*Hist. anim.* ix. 1, p. 610 a 27, ed Bekker). Isocrates speaks of a mob (ὄχλος) πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκλελυμένος (*Or.* iv. 150). The verb ἐκλύειν is used in the sense of making an end of something troublesome or burdensome (Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 35 *sq.* with Jebb's note); from which it might perhaps be extended to persons regarded as troublesome or burdensome. We may compare the parallel uses of the Latin *dissolvere*, as applied both to things (Horace, *Odes*, i. 9. 5, *dissolve frigus*) and to persons (Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 17, *plerosque senectus dissolvit*).

[2] As to Theseus and the Amazons, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 28; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 26–28; Pausanias, i. 2. 1, i. 15. 2, i. 41. 7, ii. 32. 9, v. 11. 4 and 7; Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 33. The invasion of Attica by the Amazons in the time of Theseus is repeatedly referred to by Isocrates (*Or.* iv. 68 and 70, vi. 42, vii. 75, xii. 193). The Amazon whom Theseus married, and by whom he had Hippolytus, is commonly called Antiope (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 26, 28; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 28; Pausanias, i. 2. 1, i. 41. 7; Seneca, *Hippolytus*, 927 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30). But according to Clidemus, in agreement with Simonides, her name was Hippolyte (Plutarch, *Theseus*, 27), and so she is called by Isocrates (*Or.* xii. 193). Pausanias says that Hippolyte was a sister of Antiope (i. 41. 7). Tzetzes expressly affirms that Antiope, and not Hippolyte, was the wife of Theseus and mother of Hippolytus (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 1329). The grave of Antiope was shown both at Athens and Megara (Pausanias, i. 2. 1, i. 41. 7).

Ἀθήνας Ἀμαζόνες. καὶ στρατοπεδευσαμένας[1]
αὐτὰς περὶ τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον Θησεὺς μετὰ Ἀθη-
ES ναίων ἐνίκησεν. | ἔχων δὲ[2] ἐκ τῆς Ἀμαζόνος παῖδα
17 Ἱππόλυτον, λαμβάνει μετὰ ταῦτα παρὰ Δευκαλί-
S ωνος Φαίδραν τὴν Μίνωος θυγατέρα, | ἧς ἐπιτε-
λουμένων τῶν γάμων Ἀμαζὼν ἡ προγαμηθεῖσα
Θησεῖ τοὺς συγκατακειμένους σὺν ταῖς μεθ' ἑαυτῆς
Ἀμαζόσιν ἐπιστᾶσα σὺν ὅπλοις κτείνειν ἔμελλεν.
οἱ δὲ κλείσαντες διὰ τάχους τὰς θύρας ἀπέκτειναν
αὐτήν. τινὲς δὲ μαχομένην αὐτὴν ὑπὸ Θησέως
ES 18 λέγουσιν ἀποθανεῖν. | Φαίδρα δὲ γεννήσασα Θησεῖ
δύο παιδία Ἀκάμαντα καὶ Δημοφῶντα ἐρᾷ[3] τοῦ
ἐκ τῆς Ἀμαζόνος παιδὸς [ἤγουν τοῦ Ἱππολύτου][4]
καὶ δεῖται συνελθεῖν αὐτῇ.[5] ὁ δὲ μισῶν πάσας
γυναῖκας[6] τὴν συνουσίαν ἔφυγεν. ἡ δὲ Φαίδρα,
δείσασα μὴ τῷ πατρὶ διαβάλῃ, κατασχίσασα[7]
τὰς τοῦ θαλάμου θύρας καὶ τὰς ἐσθῆτας σπα-
19 ραξασα κατεψεύσατο Ἱππολύτου βίαν. Θησεὺς
δὲ πιστεύσας ἠξάτο Ποσειδῶνι Ἱππόλυτον δια-
φθαρῆναι· ὁ δέ, θεόντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἅρματος[8]
καὶ παρὰ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ὀχουμένου, ταῦρον ἀνῆκεν
ἐκ τοῦ κλύδωνος. πτοηθέντων δὲ τῶν ἵππων κατηρ-

[1] στρατοπεδευσαμένας Bücheler : στρατευσαμένας S. Wagner.
[2] ἔχων δὲ . . . μετὰ ταῦτα S : ἐξ ἧς [scil. Γλαύκης] ἔτχε παῖδα Ἱππόλυτον. τὴν πρότερον δὲ διαλυσαμένος ἔχθραν λαμβάνει E.
[3] Φαίδρα δὲ γεννήσασα Θησεῖ δύο παιδία Ἀκάμαντα καὶ Δημοφῶντα ἐρᾷ S : ἐξ ἧς [scil. Φαίδρας] γεννᾷ δύο παῖδας Ἀκάμαντα καὶ Δημοφῶντα. Φαίδρα γοῦν ἐρᾷ E.
[4] τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Ἀμαζόνος παιδὸς ἤγουν τοῦ Ἱππολύτου E : Ἱππολύτου S.
[5] συνελθεῖν αὐτῇ E : συνελθεῖν S.
[6] πάσας γυναῖκας E : πάσας τὰς γυναῖκας S.
[7] κατασχίσασα S : κατασχοῦσα E.
[8] ἐπὶ τοῦ ἅρματος E : ἐπὶ ἅρματος S.

Wherefore the Amazons marched against Athens, and having taken up a position about the Areopagus[1] they were vanquished by the Athenians under Theseus. And though he had a son Hippolytus by the Amazon, Theseus afterwards received from Deucalion[2] in marriage Phaedra, daughter of Minos; and when her marriage was being celebrated, the Amazon that had before been married to him appeared in arms with her Amazons, and threatened to kill the assembled guests. But they hastily closed the doors and killed her. However, some say that she was slain in battle by Theseus. And Phaedra, after she had borne two children, Acamas and Demophon, to Theseus, fell in love with the son he had by the Amazon, to wit, Hippolytus, and besought him to lie with her. Howbeit, he fled from her embraces, because he hated all women. But Phaedra, fearing that he might accuse her to his father, cleft open the doors of her bedchamber, rent her garments, and falsely charged Hippolytus with an assault. Theseus believed her and prayed to Poseidon that Hippolytus might perish. So, when Hippolytus was riding in his chariot and driving beside the sea, Poseidon sent up a bull from the surf, and the horses were frightened, the chariot

[1] According to Diodorus Siculus (iv. 28. 2), the Amazons encamped at the place which was afterwards called the Amazonium. The topography of the battle seems to have been minutely described by the antiquarian Clidemus, according to whom the array of the Amazons extended from the Amazonium to the Pnyx, while the Athenians attacked them from the Museum Hill on one side and from Ardettus and the Lyceum on the other. See Plutarch, *Theseus*, 27.

[2] This Deucalion was a son of Minos and reigned after him; he was thus a brother of Phaedra. See above, iii. 1. 2; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 62. 1. He is not to be confounded with the more famous Deucalion in whose time the great flood took place. See above, i. 7. 2.

ράχθη[1] τὸ ἅρμα. ἐαπλακεὶς δὲ <ταῖς ἡνίαις>[2] Ἱππόλυτος συρόμενος ἀπέθανε. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ ἔρωτος περιφανοῦς ἑαυτὴν ἀνήρτησε Φαίδρα.

[1] κατηρράχθη E : κατεάχθη S.
[2] ταῖς ἡνίαις inserted by Wagner (comparing Scholiast on Plato, *Laws*, xi. p. 931 B, ταῖς ἡνίαις ἑαπλακεὶς ἑλκόμενος θνήσκει ; Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 1236, ἡνίαισιν ἑμπλακεὶς ; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 62. 3 ; ἑαπλακὲν τοῖς ἵπποις ἑλκυσθῆναι).

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[1] The guilty passion of Phaedra for her stepson Hippolytus and the tragic end of the innocent youth, done to death by the curses of his father Theseus, are the subject of two extant tragedies, the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, and the *Hippolytus* or *Phaedra* of Seneca. Compare also Diodorus Siculus, iv. 62 ; Pausanias, i. 22, 1 *sq.*, ii. 32. 1–4 ; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi 321, citing Asclepiades as his authority ; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1329 ; *id. Chiliades*, vi. 504 *sqq.* ; Scholiast on Plato, *Laws*, xi. p. 931 B ; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 497 *sqq.* ; *id. Heroides*, iv. ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 47 ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 445, and vii. 761 ; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 17, 117 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 46 ; Second Vatican Mythographer, 128). Sophocles composed a tragedy *Phaedra*, of which some fragments remain, but little or nothing is known of the plot. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 294 *sqq.* Euripides wrote two tragedies on the same subject, both under the title of *Hippolytus* : it is the second which has come down to us. In the first *Hippolytus* the poet, incensed at the misconduct of his wife, painted the character and behaviour of Phaedra in much darker colours than in the second, where he has softened the portrait, representing the unhappy woman as instigated by the revengeful Aphrodite, but resisting the impulse of her fatal passion to the last, refusing to tell her love to Hippolytus, and dying by her own hand rather than endure the shame of its betrayal by a blabbing nurse. This version of the story is evidently not the one here followed by Apollodorus, according to whom Phaedra made criminal advances to her stepson. On the other hand the version of Apollodorus agrees in this respect with that of the Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*) : both writers may have followed the first

dashed in pieces, and Hippolytus, entangled in the reins, was dragged to death. And when her passion was made public, Phaedra hanged herself.[1]

Hippolytus of Euripides. As to that lost play, of which some fragments have come down to us, see the life of Euripides in Westermann's *Vitarum Scriptores Graeci Minores*, p. 137; the Greek argument to the extant *Hippolytus* of Euripides (vol. i. p. 163, ed. Paley); *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck[2], pp. 491 *sqq.* Apollodorus says nothing as to the scene of the tragedy. Euripides in his extant play lays it at Troezen, whither Theseus had gone with Phaedra to be purified for the slaughter of the sons of Pallas (*Hippolytus*, 34 *sqq.*). Pausanias agrees with this account, and tells us that the graves of the unhappy pair were to be seen beside each other at Troezen, near a myrtle-tree, of which the pierced leaves still bore the print of Phaedra's brooch. The natural beauty of the spot is in keeping with the charm which the genius of Euripides has thrown over the romantic story of unhappy love and death. Of Troezen itself only a few insignificant ruins remain, overgrown with weeds and dispersed amid a wilderness of bushes. But hard by are luxuriant groves of lemon and orange with here and there tall cypresses towering like dark spires above them, while behind this belt of verdure rise wooded hills, and across the blue waters of the nearly landlocked bay lies Calauria, the sacred island of Poseidon, its peaks veiled in the sombre green of the pines.

A different place and time were assigned by Seneca to the tragedy. According to him, the events took place at Athens, and Phaedra conceived her passion for Hippolytus and made advances to him during the absence of her husband, who had gone down to the nether world with Pirithous and was there detained for four years (*Hippolytus*, 835 *sqq.*). Diodorus Siculus agrees with Euripides in laying the scene of the tragedy at Troezen, and he agrees with Apollodorus in saying that at the time when Phaedra fell in love with Hippolytus she was the mother of two sons, Acamas and Demophon, by Theseus. In his usual rationalistic vein Diodorus omits all mention of Poseidon and the sea-bull, and ascribes the accident which befell Hippolytus to the mental agitation he felt at his stepmother's calumny.

E 20 | Ὅτι ὁ Ἰξίων Ἥρας ἐρασθεὶς ἐπεχείρει βιάζεσθαι, καὶ προσαγγειλάσης τῆς Ἥρας γνῶναι θέλων ὁ Ζεύς, εἰ οὕτως ἔχει τὸ πρᾶγμα, νεφέλην ἐξεικάσας Ἥρᾳ παρέκλινεν αὐτῷ· καὶ καυχώμενον ὡς Ἥρᾳ μιγέντα ἐνέδησε τροχῷ, ὑφ' οὗ φερόμενος διὰ πνευμάτων ἐν αἰθέρι ταύτην τίνει δίκην. νεφέλη δὲ ἐξ Ἰξίονος ἐγέννησε Κένταυρον.

Z 21 <Συνεμάχησε δὲ[1] τῷ Πειρίθῳ Θησεύς, ὅτε κατὰ τῶν Κενταύρων συνέστησατο πόλεμον.

[1] Συνεμάχησε δὲ . . . ὁ Θησεὺς αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλεν. This passage is inserted from Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 33, who probably borrowed it from Apollodorus.

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[1] Compare Pindar, *Pyth.* ii 21 (39) 48 (88), with the Scholiast on *v.* 21 (39); Diodorus Siculus, iv. 69. 4 *sq.*; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1185; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xxi 303; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iii 62; Hyginus, *Fab.* 62; Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 286 (who does not mention the punishment of the wheel); Lactantius Placidus on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 539; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 4, 110 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 14; Second Vatican Mythographer, 106). J. Tzetzes flatly contradicts Pindar and substitutes a dull rationalistic narrative for the poet's picturesque myth (*Chiliades*, vii. 30 *sqq.*). According to some, the wheel of Ixion was fiery (Scholiast on Euripides, *l.c.*); according to the Vatican Mythographer it was entwined with snakes. The fiery aspect of the wheel is supported by vase-paintings. From this and other evidence Mr. A. B. Cook argues that the flaming wheel launched through the air is a mythical expression for the Sun, and that Ixion himself "typifies a whole series of human Ixions who in bygone ages were done to death as effete embodiments of the sun-god." See his book *Zeus*, i. 198–211.

[2] This passage concerning the fight of Theseus with the centaurs at the marriage of Pirithous does not occur in our text

Ixion fell in love with Hera and attempted to force her; and when Hera reported it, Zeus, wishing to know if the thing were so, made a cloud in the likeness of Hera and laid it beside him; and when Ixion boasted that he had enjoyed the favours of Hera, Zeus bound him to a wheel, on which he is whirled by winds through the air; such is the penalty he pays. And the cloud, impregnated by Ixion, gave birth to Centaurus.[1]

And Theseus allied himself with Pirithous,[2] when he engaged in war against the centaurs. For when

of Apollodorus, but is conjecturally restored to it from Zenobius (*Cent.* v. 33), or rather from his interpolator, who frequently quotes passages of Apollodorus without acknowledgment. The restoration was first proposed by Professor C. Robert before the discovery of the *Epitome*; and it is adopted by R. Wagner in his edition of Apollodorus. See C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 49 *sq.*; R. Wagner, *Epitoma Vaticana ex Apollodori Bibliotheca*, p. 147. As Pirithous was a son of Ixion (see above, i. 8. 2), the account of his marriage would follow naturally after the recital of his father's crime and punishment. As to the wedding of Pirithous, see further Diodorus Siculus, iv 70. 3; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 30; Pausanias, v. 10. 8; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xxi. 295; Hyginus, *Fab.* 33; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 210–535; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 304; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 51, 111 (First Vatican Mythographer, 162; Second Vatican Mythographer, 108). The wife of Pirithous is called Deidamia by Plutarch, but Hippodamia by Diodorus Siculus, Hyginus, and the Second Vatican Mythographer, as well as by Homer (*Il.* ii. 742). Ovid calls her Hippodame. The scene of the battle of the Lapiths with the centaurs at the wedding of Pirithous was sculptured in the western gable of the temple of Zeus at Olympia; all the sculptures were discovered, in a more or less fragmentary state, by the Germans in their excavations of the sanctuary, and they are now exhibited in the museum at Olympia. See Pausanias, v. 10. 8, with my commentary (vol. iii. pp. 516 *sqq.*).

Πειρίθους γὰρ Ἱπποδάμειαν μνηστευόμενος εἰστία Κενταύρους ὡς συγγενεῖς ὄντας αὐτῆ. ἀσυνήθως δὲ ἔχοντες οἴνου ἀφειδῶς ἐμφορησάμενοι ἐμέθυον, καὶ εἰσαγομένην τὴν νύμφην ἐπεχείρουν βιάζεσθαι· ὁ δὲ Πειρίθους μετὰ Θησέως καθοπλισάμενος μάχην συνῆψε, καὶ πολλοὺς ὁ Θησεὺς αὐτῶν[1] ἀνεῖλεν.>

E 22 |"Οτι Καινεὺς πρότερον ἦν γυνή, συνελθόντος δὲ αὐτῇ Ποσειδῶνος ἠτήσατο ἀνὴρ γενέσθαι ἄτρωτος· διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κενταύρους μάχῃ τραυμάτων καταφρονῶν πολλοὺς τῶν Κενταύρων ἀπώλεσεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποί, περιστάντες αὐτῷ, ἐλάταις τύπτοντες ἔχωσαν εἰς γῆν.

[1] αὐτῶν Wagner : ἀπ' αὐτῶν MSS. of Zenobius.

[1] As to Caeneus, his change of sex and his invulnerability, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 57–64, with the Scholiast on v. 57; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 264; Plutarch, *Stoic. absurd.* 1; *id. De profectibus in virtute*, 1; Lucian, *Gallus*, 19; *id. De saltatione*, 57; Apostolius, *Cent.* iv. 19; Palaephatus, *De incredib.* 11; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 17; Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 448 *sq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 459–532; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14, pp. 39 *sq.*, ed. Bunte; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 448; Lactantius Placidus on Statius, *Achill.* 264; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 49, 111 *sq.*, 189 (First Vatican Mythographer, 154; Second Vatican Mythographer, 108; Third Vatican Mythographer, 6. 25). According to Servius and the Vatican Mythographers, after his death Caeneus was changed back into a woman, thus conforming to an observation of Plato or Aristotle that the sex of a person generally changes at each transmigration of his soul into a new body. Curiously enough, the Urabunna and Waramunga tribes of Central Australia agree with Plato or Aristotle on this point. They believe that the souls of the dead transmigrate sooner or later into new bodies, and that at each successive transmigration they change their sex. See (Sir Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904), p. 148. According to

Pirithous wooed Hippodamia, he feasted the centaurs because they were her kinsmen. But being unaccustomed to wine, they made themselves drunk by swilling it greedily, and when the bride was brought in, they attempted to violate her. But Pirithous, fully armed, with Theseus, joined battle with them, and Theseus killed many of them.

Caeneus was formerly a woman, but after that Poseidon had intercourse with her, she asked to become an invulnerable man; wherefore in the battle with the centaurs he thought scorn of wounds and killed many of the centaurs; but the rest of them surrounded him and by striking him with fir-trees buried him in the earth.[1]

Ovid (*Metamorph.* xii. 524 *sqq.*), a bird with yellow wings was seen to rise from the heap of logs under which Caeneus was overwhelmed; and the seer Mopsus explained the bird to be Caeneus transformed into that creature. Another tradition about Caeneus was that he set up his spear in the middle of the market-place and ordered people to regard it as a god and to swear by it. He himself prayed and sacrificed to none of the gods, but only to his spear. It was this impiety that drew down on him the wrath of Zeus, who instigated the centaurs to overwhelm him. See the Scholast on Homer, *Il.* i. 264; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 57. The whole story of the parentage of Caeneus, his impiety, his invulnerability, and the manner of his death, is told by the old prose-writer Acusilaus in a passage quoted by a Greek grammarian, of whose work some fragments, written on papyrus, were discovered some years ago at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. See *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, part xiii. (London, 1919), pp. 133 *sq.* Apollodorus probably derived his account of Caeneus from Acusilaus, whom he often refers to (see Index). The fortunate discovery of this fragment of the ancient writer confirms our confidence in the excellence of the sources used by Apollodorus and in the fidelity with which he followed them. In his complete work he may have narrated the impiety of Caeneus in setting up his spear for worship, though the episode has been omitted in the *Epitome*.

23 Ὅτι Θησεύς, Πειρίθῳ συνθέμενος Διὸς θυγατέρας γαμῆσαι, ἑαυτῷ μὲν ἐκ Σπάρτης μετ' ἐκείνου ἥρπασεν Ἑλένην ἐωδεκαέτη οὖσαν, Πειρίθῳ δὲ μνηστευόμενος τὸν Περσεφόνης γάμον εἰς Ἅιδου κάτεισι. καὶ Διόσκουροι μὲν μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀρκάδων εἷλον Ἀθήνας καὶ ἀπάγουσιν Ἑλένην καὶ μετὰ ταύτης Αἴθραν τὴν Πιτθέως αἰχμάλωτον. Δημοφῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀκάμας ἔφυγον. κατάγουσι δὲ καὶ Μενεσθέα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν
24 τῶν Ἀθηναίων διδόασι τούτῳ. Θησεὺς δὲ μετὰ Πειρίθου παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἅιδου ἐξαπατᾶται, καὶ ὡς[1] ξενίων μεταλήψομένους πρῶτον ἐν τῷ τῆς Λήθης εἶπε καθεσθῆναι θρόνῳ, ᾧ προσφυέντες ὀπείραις δρακόντων κατείχοντο. Πειρίθους μὲν οὖν εἰς ἄϊδιον[2] δεθεὶς ἔμεινε, Θησέα δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀναγαγὼν ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἀθήνας. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὑπὸ Μενεσθέως ἐξελαθεὶς πρὸς Λυκο-

[1] ὃς ὡς Herwerden : ὡς E, Wagner.
[2] ἄϊδιον Herwerden : Ἀιδωνέα E, Wagner.

[1] See above, iii. 10. 7, with the note. Diodorus Siculus (iv. 63. 2) says that Helen was ten years old when she was carried off by Theseus and Pirithous.

[2] Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 63. 3 and 5 ; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 32 and 34 ; Pausanias, i. 17. 5, ii. 22. 6. According to these writers, it was not Athens but Aphidna (Aphidnae) that was captured by the Dioscuri.

[3] Menestheus was one of the royal family of Athens, being a son of Peteos, who was a son of Orneus, who was a son of Erechtheus. See Plutarch, *Theseus*, 32 ; Pausanias, ii. 25. 6. That he was restored and placed on the throne by Castor and Pollux during the absence of Theseus is mentioned also by Pausanias, i. 17. 6, and Aelian (*Var. Hist.* iv. 5). Compare Plutarch, *Theseus*, 32 *sq.*

[4] As to Theseus and Pirithous in hell, and the rescue of Theseus by Hercules, see above, ii. 5. 12 with the note. The great painter Polygnotus painted the two heroes seated in

Having made a compact with Pirithous that they would marry daughters of Zeus, Theseus, with the help of Pirithous, carried off Helen from Sparta for himself, when she was twelve years old,[1] and in the endeavour to win Persephone as a bride for Pirithous he went down to Hades. And the Dioscuri, with the Lacedaemonians and Arcadians, captured Athens and carried away Helen, and with her Aethra, daughter of Pittheus, into captivity;[2] but Demophon and Acamas fled. And the Dioscuri also brought back Menestheus from exile, and gave him the sovereignty of Athens.[3] But when Theseus arrived with Pirithous in Hades, he was beguiled; for, on the pretence that they were about to partake of good cheer, Hades bade them first be seated on the Chair of Forgetfulness, to which they grew and were held fast by coils of serpents. Pirithous, therefore, remained bound for ever, but Hercules brought Theseus up and sent him to Athens.[4] Thence he was driven by

chairs, Theseus holding his friend's sword and his own, while Pirithous gazed wistfully at the now useless blades, that had done such good service in the world of light and life. See Pausanias, x. 29. 9. No ancient author, however, except Apollodorus in the present passage, expressly mentions the Chair of Forgetfulness, though Horace seems to allude to it (*Odes*, iv. 7. 27 *sq.*), where he speaks of "the Lethaean bonds" which held fast Pirithous, and which his faithful friend was powerless to break. But when Apollodorus speaks of the heroes growing to their seats, he may be following the old poet Panyasis, who said that Theseus and Pirithous were not pinioned to their chairs, but that the rock growing to their flesh held them as in a vice (Pausanias *l.c.*). Indeed, Theseus stuck so fast that, on being wrenched away by Hercules, he left a piece of his person adhering to the rock, which, according to some people, was the reason why the Athenians ever afterwards were so remarkably spare in that part of their frame. See Suidas, *s.v.* Λίπος; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1368; compare Aulus Gellius, x. 16. 13.

μήδην ἦλθεν, ὃς αὐτὸν βάλλει κατὰ βαράθρων[1] καὶ ἀποκτείνει.

II. Ὅτι ὁ Τάνταλος ἐν Ἅιδου[2] κολάζεται, πέτρον ἔχων ὑπερθεν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιφερόμενον, ἐν λίμνῃ τε διατελῶν καὶ περὶ τοὺς ὤμους ἑκατέρωσε δένδρα μετὰ καρπῶν ὁρῶν παρὰ τῇ λίμνῃ πεφυκότα· τὸ μὲν οὖν ὕδωρ ψαύει αὐτοῦ τῶν γενύων, καὶ ὅτε θέλοι σπάσασθαι τούτου ξηραίνεται, τῶν δὲ καρπῶν ὁπότε βούλοιτο μεταλήψεσθαι μετεωρίζονται[3] μέχρι νεφῶν ὑπ᾽ ἀνέμων τὰ δένδρα σὺν τοῖς καρποῖς. κολάζεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν οὕτως λέγουσί τινες, ὅτι τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐξελάλησεν ἀνθρώποις μυστήρια, καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἀμβροσίας τοῖς ἡλικιώταις μετεδίδου.

2 Ὅτι Βροτέας κυνηγὸς ὢν τὴν Ἄρτεμιν οὐκ

[1] βαράθρων Wagner : βάθρων E.
[2] Ἅιδου Wagner : ἅδη E.
[3] μετεωρίζονται Wagner : μετεωρίζοντα E.

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[1] Compare Plutarch, *Theseus*, 35 ; Pausanias, i. 17. 6 ; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 62. 4.

[2] As to the punishment of Tantalus, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 582-592, who describes only the torments of hunger and thirst, but says nothing about the overhanging stone. But the stone is often mentioned by later writers. See Archilochus, quoted by Plutarch, *Praecept. Ger. Reipub.* 6, and by the Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 60 (97) ; Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 55 (87) *sqq.*, with the Scholia on *v.* 60 (97) ; *id. Isthm.* viii. 10 (21) ; Euripides, *Orestes*, 4-10 ; Plato, *Cratylus*, p. 395 D E ; Hyperides, *Frag.* 176, ed. Blass ; Antipater, in *Anthologia Palatina, Appendix Planudea*, iv. 131. 9 *sq.* ; Plutarch, *De superstitione*, 11 ; Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 17 ; Pausanias, x 31. 10 ; Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* iii. 25 ; Apostolius, *Cent.* vii. 60, xvi. 9 ; Nonnus, *Narrat.* in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, 73, p. 386 ; Athenaeus, vii. 14, p. 281 B C ; Lucretius, iii. 980 *sq.* ; Cicero, *De finibus*, i.

Menestheus and went to Lycomedes, who threw him down an abyss and killed him.[1]

II. Tantalus is punished in Hades by having a stone impending over him, by being perpetually in a lake and seeing at his shoulders on either side trees with fruit growing beside the lake. The water touches his jaws, but when he would take a draught of it, the water dries up; and when he would partake of the fruits, the trees with the fruits are lifted by winds as high as the clouds. Some say that he is thus punished because he blabbed to men the mysteries of the gods, and because he attempted to share ambrosia with his fellows.[2]

Broteas, a hunter, did not honour Artemis, and

18. 60; *id. Tuscul. Disput.* iv. 16. 35; Horace, *Epod.* 17, 65 *sq.* and *Sat.* i. 1. 68 *sq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 458 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 82. Ovid notices only the torments of hunger and thirst, and Lucian only the torment of thirst. According to another account, Tantalus lay buried under Mount Sipylus in Lydia, which had been his home in life, and on which his grave was shown down to late times (Pausanias, ii. 22. 3, v. 13. 7). The story ran that Zeus owned a valuable watchdog, which guarded his sanctuary in Crete; but Pandareus, the Milesian, stole the animal and entrusted it for safekeeping to Tantalus. So Zeus sent Hermes to the resetter to reclaim his property, but Tantalus impudently denied on oath that the creature was in his house or that he knew anything about it. Accordingly, to punish the perjured knave, the indignant Zeus piled Mount Sipylus on the top of him. See the Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 60 (97); Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xix. 518, xx. 66. In his lost play *Tantalus* Sophocles seems to have introduced the theft of the dog, the errand of Hermes to recover the animal, and perhaps the burial of the thief under the mountain. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 209 *sqq.*

ἐτίμα· ἔλεγε δέ, ὡς οὐδ' <ἂν>[1] ὑπὸ πυρός τι πάθοι· ἐμμανὴς οὖν γενόμενος ἔβαλεν εἰς πῦρ ἑαυτόν.

3 Ὅτι Πέλοψ σφαγεὶς ἐν τῷ τῶν θεῶν ἐράνῳ καὶ καθεψηθεὶς ὡραιότερος ἐν τῇ ἀναζωώσει γέγονε, καὶ κάλλει διενεγκὼν Ποσειδῶνος ἐρώμενος γίνεται, ὃς αὐτῷ δίδωσιν ἅρμα ὑπόπτερον· τοῦτο καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης τρέχον τοὺς ἄξονας οὐχ ὑγραί-
4 νετο. τοῦ δὲ βασιλεύοντος Πίσης Οἰνομάου θυγατέρα ἔχοντος Ἱπποδάμειαν, καὶ εἴτε αὐτῆς

[1] οὐδ' ἂν Herwerden : οὐδ' E, Wagner.

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[1] This Broteas, mentioned by Apollodorus between Tantalus and Pelops, is probably the Broteas, son of Tantalus, who was said to have carved the ancient rock-hewn image of the Mother of the Gods which is still to be seen on the side of Mount Sipylus, about three hundred feet above the plain. See Pausanias, iii. 22. 4, with my note on v. 13. 7 (vol. iii. pp. 553 *sq.*). Ovid mentions a certain Broteas, who from a desire of death burned himself on a pyre (*Ibis*, 517 *sq.*), and who is probably to be identified with the Broteas of Apollodorus, though the Scholiasts on Ovid describe him either as a son of Jupiter (Zeus), or as a son of Vulcan (Hephaestus) and Pallas (Athena), identical with Erichthonius. According to one of the Scholiasts, Broteas, son of Zeus, was a very wicked man, who was blinded by Zeus, and loathing his life threw himself on a burning pyre. According to another of the Scholiasts, Broteas, son of Hephaestus and Athena, was despised for his ugliness, and this so preyed on his mind that he preferred death by fire. See Ovid, *Ibis*, ed. R. Ellis, p. 89. It seems not improbable that this legend contains a reminiscence of a human sacrifice or suicide by fire, such as occurs not infrequently in the traditions of western Asia. See K. B. Stark, *Niobe und die Niobiden* (Leipsic, 1863), pp. 437 *sq.* ; and for the Asiatic traditions of a human sacrifice or suicide by fire, see *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Third Edition, vol. i. pp. 172 *sqq.*

[2] The story was that at a banquet of the gods, to which he

said that even fire could not hurt him. So he went mad and threw himself into fire.[1]

Pelops, after being slaughtered and boiled at the banquet of the gods, was fairer than ever when he came to life again,[2] and on account of his surpassing beauty he became a minion of Poseidon, who gave him a winged chariot, such that even when it ran through the sea the axles were not wet.[3] Now Oenomaus, the king of Pisa, had a daughter Hippodamia,[4] and whether it was that he loved her, as some

had been invited, Tantalus served up the mangled limbs of his young son Pelops, which he had boiled in a kettle. But the murdered child was restored to life by being put back into the kettle and then drawn out of it, with an ivory shoulder to replace the shoulder of flesh which Demeter or, according to others, Thetis had unwittingly eaten. See Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 24 (37) *sqq.*, with the Scholia on *v.* 37 ; Lucian, *De saltatione*, 54 ; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 152 ; Nonnus, *Narr.*, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, 57, p. 380 ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 603, and on *Georg.* iii. 7 ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 83 ; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol i pp. 109, 186 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 102 ; Third Vatican Mythographer, vi. 21). The ivory shoulder of Pelops used afterwards to be exhibited at Elis (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 34) ; but it was no longer to be seen in the time of Pausanias (Pausanias, i. 13. 6).

[3] Compare Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 37 (60) *sqq.*, 71 (114) *sqq.* ; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 156. Pindar describes how Pelops went to the shore of the sea and prayed to Poseidon to give him a swift chariot, and how the god came forth and bestowed on him a golden chariot with winged steeds. On the chest of Cypselus at Olympia the horses of Pelops in the chariot race were represented with wings (Pausanias, v. 17. 7).

[4] The following account of the wooing and winning of Hippodamia by Pelops is the fullest that has come down to us. Compare Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 67 (109) *sqq.* ; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 73 ; Pausanias, v. 10. 6 *sq.*, v. 14. 6, v. 17. 7,

ἐρῶντος, ὥς τινες λέγουσιν, εἴτε χρησμὸν ἔχοντος τελευτῆσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ γήμαντος αὐτήν, οὐδεὶς αὐτὴν ἐλάμβανεν εἰς γυναῖκα· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πατὴρ οὐκ ἔπειθεν αὐτῷ[1] συνελθεῖν, οἱ δὲ μνηστευόμενοι

[1] αὐτῷ Frazer: αὐτῇ E. Wagner. ἐπετρεπεν οὐδενὶ αὐτῇ Herwerden.

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vi. 20. 17, vi. 21. 6-11, viii. 14. 10 *sq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 104; Scholiast on Pindar, *Ol. sup.* i. 71 (114); Scholiast on Sophocles, *Electra*, 504; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 982 and 990; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 752; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 156; Hyginus, *Fab.* 84; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 7, ed. Lion; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed G. H. Bode vol. i. pp. 7, 125 (First Vatican Mythographer, 21; Second Vatican Mythographer, 146). The story was told by Pherecydes, as we learn from the Scholiasts on Sophocles and Apollonius Rhodius. (*ll.cc.*) It was also the theme of two plays called *Oenomaus*, one of them by Sophocles, and the other by Euripides. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck[2], pp. 233 *sqq.*, 539 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 121 *sqq.* The versions of the story given by Tzetzes and the Scholiast on Euripides (*Orestes*, 990) agree closely with each other and with that of Apollodorus, which they may have copied. They agree with him and with the Scholiast on Pindar in alleging an incestuous passion of Oenomaus for his daughter as the reason why he was reluctant to give her in marriage; indeed they affirm that this was the motive assigned for his conduct by the more accurate historians, though they also mention the oracle which warned him that he would perish at the hands of his son-in-law. The fear of this prediction being fulfilled is the motive generally alleged by the extant writers of antiquity. Diodorus Siculus mentions some particulars which are not noticed by other authors. According to him, the goal of the race was the altar of Poseidon at Corinth, and the suitor was allowed a start; for before mounting his chariot Oenomaus sacrificed a ram to Zeus, and while he was sacrificing the suitor drove off and made the best of his way along the road, until Oenomaus, having completed the sacrifice, was free to pursue and overtake him. The sacri-

say, or that he was warned by an oracle that he must die by the man that married her, no man got her to wife; for her father could not persuade her to cohabit with him, and her suitors were put by him to death.

fice was offered at a particular altar at Olympia, which some people called the altar of Hephaestus, and others the altar of Warlike Zeus (Pausanias, v. 14. 6). In the eastern gable of the temple of Zeus at Olympia the competitors with their chariots and charioteers were represented preparing for the race in the presence of an image of Zeus; among them were Hippodamia and her mother Sterope. These sculptures were found, more or less mutilated, by the Germans in their excavation of Olympia and are now exhibited in the local museum. See Pausanias, v. 10. 6 *sq.* with my commentary (vol. iii. pp. 504 *sqq*). Curiously enough, the scene of the story is transposed by the Scholiast on Euripides (*Orestes*, 990), who affirms that Oenomaus reigned in Lesbos, though at the same time he says, in accordance with the usual tradition, that the goal of the race was the Isthmus of Corinth. The connexion of Oenomaus with Lesbos is to a certain extent countenanced by a story for which the authority cited is Theopompus. He related that when Pelops was on his way to Pisa (Olympia) to woo Hippodamia, his charioteer Cillus died in Lesbos, and that his ghost appeared to Pelops in a dream, lamenting his sad fate and begging to be accorded funeral honours. So Pelops burned the dead man's body, buried his ashes under a barrow, and founded a sanctuary of Cillaean Apollo close by. See the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 38 (where for ἐξεπύρου τὸ εἴδωλον διὰ πυρός we should perhaps read ἐξεπύρου τὸ εἴδωλον διὰ πυρός, "he burned the body to ashes with fire," εἴδωλον being apparently used in the sense of "dead body"). Strabo describes the tomb of Cillus or Cillas, as he calls him, as a great mound beside the sanctuary of Cillaean Apollo, but he places the grave and the sanctuary, not in Lesbos, but on the opposite mainland, in the territory of Adramyttium, though he says that there was a Cillaeum also in Lesbos. See Strabo, xiii. 1. 62 and 63, pp. 612, 613. Professor C. Robert holds that the original version of the legend of Oenomaus and Hippodamia belonged to Lesbos and not to Olympia. See his *Bild und Lied*, p. 187 note.

ἀνῃροῦντο ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. ἔχων γὰρ ὅπλα τε καὶ ἵππους παρὰ Ἄρεος ἆθλον ἐτίθει τοῖς μνηστῆρσι τὸν γάμον, καὶ τὸν μνηστευόμενον ἔδει ἀναλαβόντα τὴν Ἱπποδάμειαν εἰς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἅρμα φεύγειν ἄχρι τοῦ Κορινθίων ἰσθμοῦ, τὸν δὲ Οἰνόμαον εὐθέως διώκειν καθωπλισμένον καὶ καταλαβόντα κτείνειν· τὸν δὲ μὴ καταληφθέντα ἔχειν γυναῖκα τὴν Ἱπποδάμειαν. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον πολλοὺς μνηστευομένους ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡς δέ τινες λέγουσι δώδεκα· τὰς δὲ κεφαλὰς τῶν μνηστήρων ἐκτεμὼν[1] τῇ οἰκίᾳ προσεπατταλευε.

6 Παραγίνεται τοίνυν καὶ Πέλοψ ἐπὶ τὴν μνηστείαν· οὗ τὸ κάλλος ἰδοῦσα ἡ Ἱπποδάμεια ἔρωτα ἔσχεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πείθει Μυρτίλον τὸν Ἑρμοῦ παῖδα συλλαβέσθαι αὐτῷ· ἦν δὲ Μυρτίλος [πάσας
7 βάτης εἶτουν] ἡνίοχος Οἰνομάου. Μυρτίλος οὖν ἐρῶν αὐτῆς καὶ βουλόμενος αὐτῇ χαρίσασθαι, ταῖς χαυνικίσι τῶν τροχῶν τοὺς ἥλους οὐκ ἐμβαλὼν ἐποίησε τὸν Οἰνόμαον ἐν τῷ τρέχειν ἡττηθῆναι καὶ ταῖς ἡνίαις συμπλακέντα συρόμενον ἀποθανεῖν, κατὰ δέ τινας ἀναιρεθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέλοπος· ὃ-

[1] ἐκτεμὼν Frazer: ἐκτέμνων E, Wagner.

[1] The number of the slain suitors was twelve according to Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 156) and the Scholiast on Euripides (*Orestes*, 990); but it was thirteen according to Pindar and his Scholiasts. See Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 79 (127) *sq.*, with the Scholia on *v.* 79 (127), where the names of the suitors are given. A still longer list of their names is given by Pausanias (vi. 21. 7), who says that they were buried under a high mound of earth, and that Pelops afterwards sacrificed to them as to heroes every year.

[2] According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 84), when Pelops saw the heads of the unsuccessful suitors nailed over the door, he

For he had arms and horses given him by Ares, and he offered as a prize to the suitors the hand of his daughter, and each suitor was bound to take up Hippodamia on his own chariot and flee as far as the Isthmus of Corinth, and Oenomaus straightway pursued him, in full armour, and if he overtook him he slew him; but if the suitor were not overtaken, he was to have Hippodamia to wife. And in this way he slew many suitors, some say twelve;[1] and he cut off the heads of the suitors and nailed them to his house.[2]

So Pelops also came a-wooing; and when Hippodamia saw his beauty, she conceived a passion for him, and persuaded Myrtilus, son of Hermes, to help him; for Myrtilus was charioteer to Oenomaus. Accordingly Myrtilus, being in love with her and wishing to gratify her, did not insert the linchpins in the boxes of the wheels,[3] and thus caused Oenomaus to lose the race and to be entangled in the reins and dragged to death; but according to some, he was killed by Pelops. And

began to repent of his temerity, and offered Myrtilus, the charioteer of Oenomaus, the half of the kingdom if he would help him in the race.

[3] According to another account, which had the support of Pherecydes, Myrtilus substituted linchpins of wax for linchpins of bronze. See Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 752; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 156; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 998; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 7, ed. Lion, where for *aereis* we should read *cereis* (the text in Thilo and Hagen's edition of Servius is mutilated and omits the passage); *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 7, 125 (First Vatican Mythographer, 21; Second Vatican Mythographer, 146).

ἐν τῷ ἀποθνήσκειν κατηράσατο τῷ Μυρτίλῳ γνοὺς
τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἵνα ὑπὸ Πέλοπος ἀπόληται.

8 Λαβὼν οὖν Πέλοψ τὴν Ἱπποδάμειαν καὶ διερ-
χόμενος ἐν τόπῳ τινί, τὸν Μυρτίλον ἔχων μεθ'
ἑαυτοῦ, μικρὸν ἀναχωρεῖ κομίσων ὕδωρ διψώσῃ
τῇ γυναικί· Μυρτίλος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ βιάζειν αὐτὴν
ἐπεχείρει. μαθὼν δὲ τοῦτο παρ' αὐτῆς[1] ὁ Πέλοψ
ῥίπτει τὸν Μυρτίλον περὶ Γεραιστὸν ἀκρωτήριον
εἰς τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθὲν Μυρτῷον πέλαγος· ὁ δὲ
ῥιπτούμενος ἀρὰς ἔθετο κατὰ τοῦ Πέλοπος γένους.

9 παραγενόμενος δὲ Πέλοψ ἐπ' ὠκεανὸν καὶ ἀγνι-
σθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου, ἐπανελθὼν εἰς Πῖσαν τῆς
Ἤλιδος τὴν Οἰνομάου βασιλείαν λαμβάνει, χειρω-
σάμενος τὸν πρότερον Ἄπιαν καὶ Πελασγιῶτιν
λεγομένην, ἣν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Πελοπόννησον ἐκάλεσεν.

10 Ὅτι υἱοὶ Πέλοπος Πιτθεὺς Ἀτρεὺς Θυέστης
καὶ ἕτεροι· γυνὴ δὲ Ἀτρέως Ἀερόπη τοῦ Κατ-

[1] αὐτῆς Wagner: αὐτὴν E.

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[1] Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 156; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 104. The latter writer says, somewhat absurdly, that the incident took place when Pelops and Hippodamia were crossing the Aegean Sea, and that, Hippodamia being athirst, Pelops dismounted from the chariot to look for water in the desert.

[2] Compare Euripides, *Orestes*, 989 *sqq.*

[3] Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 156; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 990.

[4] As to Apia, the old name of Peloponnese, see above, ii. 1. 1; Pausanias, ii. 5. 7; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀπία. The term Pelasgiotis seems not to occur elsewhere as a name for Peloponnese. However, Euripides uses Pelasgia apparently as equivalent to Argolis (*Orestes*, 960).

[5] According to Pindar, Pelops had six sons by Hippodamia, and three different lists of their names are given by the Scholiasts on the passage. All the lists include the three

in dying he cursed Myrtilus, whose treachery he had discovered, praying that he might perish by the hand of Pelops.

Pelops, therefore, got Hippodamia; and on his journey, in which he was accompanied by Myrtilus, he came to a certain place, and withdrew a little to fetch water for his wife, who was athirst; and in the meantime Myrtilus tried to rape her.[1] But when Pelops learned that from her, he threw Myrtilus into the sea, called after him the Myrtoan Sea, at Cape Geraestus[2]; and Myrtilus, as he was being thrown, uttered curses against the house of Pelops. When Pelops had reached the Ocean and been cleansed by Hephaestus,[3] he returned to Pisa in Elis and succeeded to the kingdom of Oenomaus, but not till he had subjugated what was formerly called Apia and Pelasgiotis, which he called Peloponnese after himself.[4]

The sons of Pelops were Pittheus, Atreus, Thyestes, and others.[5] Now the wife of Atreus was Aerope,

mentioned by Apollodorus. See Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 89 (144), with the Scholia. Three sons, Hippalcimus, Atreus, and Thyestes, are named by Hyginus (*Fab.* 84). Besides his legitimate sons Pelops is said to have had a bastard son Chrysippus, who was born to him before his marriage with Hippodamia. His fondness for this love child excited the jealousy of his wife, and at her instigation Atreus and Thyestes murdered Chrysippus by throwing him down a well. For this crime Pelops cursed his two sons and banished them, and Hippodamia fled to Argolis, but her bones were afterwards brought back to Olympia. See Thucydides, i. 9; Pausanias, vi. 20. 7; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliads*, i. 415 *sqq*.; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 105; Hyginus, *Fab.* 85. Euripides wrote a tragedy *Chrysippus* on this subject. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck[2], pp. 632 *sqq*. The tragedy is alluded to by Cicero (*Tuscul. Disput.* iv. 33. 71). As to Chrysippus, see also above, iii. 5. 5.

ρέως,[1] ἥτις ἦρα Θυέστου. ὁ δὲ Ἀτρεὺς εὐξάμενός ποτε τῶν αὐτοῦ[2] ποιμνίων, ὅπερ ἂν κάλλιστον γένηται, τοῦτο θῦσαι Ἀρτέμιδι, λέγουσιν ἀρνὸς φανείσης χρυσῆς ὅτι κατημέλησε τῆς εὐχῆς·
11 πνίξας δὲ αὐτὴν εἰς λάρνακα κατέθετο κἀκεῖ ἐφύλασσε ταύτην· ἣν Ἀερόπη δίδωσι τῷ Θυέστῃ μοιχευθεῖσα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. χρησμοῦ γὰρ γεγονότος τοῖς Μυκηναίοις ἐλέσθαι βασιλέα Πελοπίδην, μετεπέμψαντο Ἀτρέα καὶ Θυέστην. λόγου δὲ γενομένου περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξεῖπε Θυέστης τῷ πλήθει τὴν βασιλείαν δεῖν ἔχειν τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν ἄρνα τὴν χρυσῆν· συνθεμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀτρέως
12 δείξας ἐβασίλευσε. Ζεὺς δὲ Ἑρμῆν πέμπει πρὸς Ἀτρέα καὶ λέγει συνθέσθαι πρὸς Θυέστην περὶ τοῦ βασιλεῦσαι Ἀτρέα, εἰ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδεύσει ὁ Ἥλιος· Θυέστου δὲ συνθεμένου τὴν δύσιν εἰς ἀνατολὰς ὁ Ἥλιος ἐποιήσατο· ὅθεν ἐκμαρτυρήσαντος τοῦ δαίμονος τὴν Θυέστου πλεονεξίαν, τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀτρεὺς παρέλαβε καὶ Θυέστην ἐφυ-
13 γαδευσεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῆς μοιχείας ὕστερον

[1] Κατρέως Wagner: καστρέως E.
[2] αὐτοῦ Wagner: αὐτοῦ E.

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[1] This story of the golden lamb, and of the appeal made to its possession by the two brothers in the contest for the kingdom, is told in substantially the same way by J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 425 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 106; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 811, 998. Tzetzes records the vow of Atreus to sacrifice the best of his flock to Artemis, and he cites as his authority Apollonius, which is almost certainly a mistake for Apollodorus. Probably Tzetzes and the Scholiasts drew on the present passage of Apollodorus, or rather on the passage as it appeared in the unabridged text instead of in the *Epitome* which is all that we now possess of the last

daughter of Catreus, and she loved Thyestes. And Atreus once vowed to sacrifice to Artemis the finest of his flocks; but when a golden lamb appeared, they say that he neglected to perform his vow, and having choked the lamb, he deposited it in a box and kept it there, and Aerope gave it to Thyestes, by whom she had been debauched. For the Mycenaeans had received an oracle which bade them choose a Pelopid for their king, and they had sent for Atreus and Thyestes. And when a discussion took place concerning the kingdom, Thyestes declared to the multitude that the kingdom ought to belong to him who owned the golden lamb, and when Atreus agreed, Thyestes produced the lamb and was made king. But Zeus sent Hermes to Atreus and told him to stipulate with Thyestes that Atreus should be king if the sun should go backward; and when Thyestes agreed, the sun set in the east; hence the deity having plainly attested the usurpation of Thyestes, Atreus got the kingdom and banished Thyestes.[1] But afterwards being apprized

part of the *Library*. Euripides told the story allusively in much the same way. See his *Electra*, 699 *sqq.*; *Orestes*, 996 *sqq.* Compare Plato, *Politicus*, 12, pp. 268 *sq.*; Pausanias, ii. 18. 1; Lucian, *De astrologia*, 12; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lxvi. vol. ii. p. 221, ed. L. Dindorf; Accius, quoted by Cicero, *De natura deorum*, iii. 27. 68; Seneca, *Thyestes*, 222–235; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 306; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i pp. 7, 125 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 22; Second Vatican Mythographer, 147). From these various accounts and allusions it would seem that in their dispute for the kingdom, which Atreus claimed in right of birth as the elder (J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 426), it was agreed that he who could exhibit the greatest portent should be king. Atreus intended to produce the golden lamb, which had been born in

κήρυκα πέμψας ἐπὶ διαλλαγὰς αὐτὸν ἐκάλει· καὶ ψευσάμενος εἶναι φίλος, παραγενομένου τοὺς παῖδας, οὓς εἶχεν ἐκ νηίδος νύμφης, Ἄγλαὸν[1] καὶ Καλλιλέοντα καὶ Ὀρχομενόν, ἐπὶ τὸν Διὸς βωμὸν καθεσθέντας ἱκέτας ἔσφαξε, καὶ μελίσας καὶ καθεψήσας παρατίθησι Θυέστῃ χωρὶς τῶν ἄκρων, ἐμφορηθέντι[2] δὲ δείκνυσι τὰ ἄκρα καὶ τῆς χώρας
14 αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει. Θυέστης δὲ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον

[1] Ἄγλαὸν Wagner (comparing J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 449, τὸν Ἄγλαόν, Ὀρχομενόν, Κάλλαον) : ἀγῶνα E.

[2] ἐμφορηθέντι Frazer : ἐμφορηθέντα E, Wagner.

his flocks; but meanwhile the lamb had been given by his treacherous wife Aerope to her paramour Thyestes, who produced it in evidence of his claim and was accordingly awarded the crown. However, with the assistance of Zeus, the rightful claimant Atreus was able to exhibit a still greater portent, which was the sun and the Pleiades retracing their course in the sky and setting in the east instead of in the west. This mighty marvel, attesting the divine approbation of Atreus, clinched the dispute in his favour; he became king, and banished his rival Thyestes. According to a different account, which found favour with the Latin poets, the sun reversed his course in the sky, not in order to demonstrate the right of Atreus to the crown, but on the contrary to mark his disgust and horror at the king for murdering his nephews and dishing up their mangled limbs to their father Thyestes at table. See J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 451; Statyllius Flaccus, in *Anthologia Palatina*, ix. 98. 2; Hyginus, *Fab.* 88 and 258; Ovid, *Tristia*, ii. 391 *sq.*; *id. Ars amat.* i. 327 *sqq.*; Seneca, *Thyestes*, 776 *sqq.*; Martial, iii. 45. 1 *sq.* From the verses of Statyllius Flaccus we may infer that this latter was the interpretation put on the backward motion of the sun by Sophocles in his tragedy *Atreus*. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. p. 93. In later times rationalists explained the old fable by saying that Atreus was an astronomer who first calculated an eclipse, and so threw his less scientific brother into the shade (Hyginus,

of the adultery, he sent a herald to Thyestes with a proposal of accommodation; and when he had lured Thyestes by a pretence of friendship, he slaughtered the sons, Aglaus, Callileon, and Orchomenus, whom Thyestes had by a Naiad nymph, though they had sat down as suppliants on the altar of Zeus. And having cut them limb from limb and boiled them, he served them up to Thyestes without the extremities; and when Thyestes had eaten heartily of them, he showed him the extremities, and cast him out of the country.[1] But seeking by all means to pay Atreus

Fab. 158; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i 568), or who first pointed out that the sun appears to revolve in a direction contrary to the motion of the stars. See Strabo, i. 2. 15, p. 23; Lucian, *De astrologia*, 12. A fragment of Euripides appears to show that he put in the mouth of Atreus this claim to astronomical discovery. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², p. 639 (frag. 861). A still more grandiose explanation of the myth was given by Plato (*l.c.*), who adduced it, with grave irony, as evidence that in alternate cycles of vast duration the universe revolves in opposite directions, the reversal of its motion at the end of each cycle being accompanied by a great destruction of animal life. This magnificent theory was perhaps suggested to the philosopher by the speculations of Empedocles, and it bears a resemblance not only to the ancient Indian doctrine of successive epochs of creation and destruction, but also to Herbert Spencer's view of the great cosmic process as moving eternally in alternate and measureless cycles of evolution and dissolution. See Sir Charles Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, Twelfth Edition (London, 1875), i. 7, quoting the *Laws of Manu*; Herbert Spencer, *First Principles*, Third Edition (London, 1875), pp. 536 *sq.* Compare *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, ii. 303 *sqq.*

[1] As to the famous, or infamous, Thyestean banquet, see Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1590 *sqq.*; Pausanias, ii. 18. 1; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 447 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 88; Seneca, *Thyestes*, 682 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 568, xi. 262; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 306; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 7, 126.

ζητῶν Ἀτρέα μετελθεῖν ἐχρηστηριάζετο περὶ τούτου καὶ λαμβάνει χρησμόν, ὡς εἰ παῖδα γεννήσει τῇ θυγατρὶ συνελθών. ποιεῖ οὖν[1] οὕτω καὶ γεννᾷ ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς Αἴγισθον,[2] ὃς ἀνδρωθεὶς καὶ μαθών, ὅτι Θυέστου παῖς ἐστι, κτείνας Ἀτρέα Θυέστῃ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποκατέστησεν.

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TZ 15 <Τὸν δ' Ἀγαμέμνονα[3] τροφὸς μετὰ τοῦ Μενελάου

[1] οὖν Frazer: γοῦν E, Wagner.

[2] Wagner marks a lacuna between θυγατρὸς and Αἴγισθον. There seems to be none in the MS.

[3] τὸν δ' Ἀγαμέμνονα . . . Μενέλαος Ἕλενην. These verses are inserted from J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 456–465, who may have borrowed the substance of them from Apollodorus.

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209 First Vatican Mythographer, 22; Second Vatican Mythographer, 147; Third Vatican Mythographer, viii. 16). Sophocles wrote at least two tragedies on the fatal feud between the brothers, one of them being called *Atreus* and the other *Thyestes*. The plots of the plays are not certainly known, but it is thought probable that in the former he dealt with the cannibal banquet, and in the latter with the subsequent adventures and crimes of Thyestes. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 91 *sqq.*, 185 *sqq.* Euripides also wrote a tragedy called *Thyestes*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck[2], pp. 480 *sqq.* Tzetzes agrees with Apollodorus as to the names of the three murdered sons of Thyestes, except that he calls one of them Callaus instead of Callileon. Only two, Tantalus and Plisthenes, are named by Seneca and Hyginus.

[1] The later history of Thyestes, including his incest with his daughter Pelopia, is narrated much more fully by Hyginus (*Fab.* 87 and 88), who is believed to have derived the story from the *Thyestes* of Sophocles. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 185 *sqq.* The incest and the birth of Aegisthus, who is said to have received his

out, Thyestes inquired of the oracle on the subject, and received an answer that it could be done if he were to beget a son by intercourse with his own daughter. He did so accordingly, and begot Aegisthus by his daughter. And Aegisthus, when he was grown to manhood and had learned that he was a son of Thyestes, killed Atreus, and restored the kingdom to Thyestes.[1]

* * * * * * * *

But[2] the nurse took Agamemnon and Menelaus

name because he was suckled by a goat, are told more briefly by Lactantius Placidus (on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 306) and the First and Second Vatican Mythographers (*Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 7 *sq.*, 126). The incest is said to have been committed at Sicyon, where the father and daughter met by night without recognizing each other; the recognition occurred at a later time by means of a sword which Pelopia had wrested from her ravisher, and with which, on coming to a knowledge of her relationship to him, she stabbed herself to death.

[2] The passage translated in this paragraph does not occur in our present text of Apollodorus, which is here defective. It is found in the *Chiliades* of J. Tzetzes (i. 456–465), who probably borrowed it from Apollodorus; for in the preceding lines Tzetzes narrates the crimes of Atreus and Thyestes in agreement with Apollodorus and actually cites him as his authority, if, as seems nearly certain, we should read Apollodorus for Apollonius in his text (see above p. 164). The restoration of the passage to its present place in the text of Apollodorus is due to the German editor R. Wagner. Here after describing how Aegisthus had murdered Atreus and placed his own father Thyestes on the throne of Mycenae, Apollodorus tells us how the nurse of Atreus's two children, Agamemnon and Menelaus, saved the lives of her youthful charges by conveying them to Sicyon. The implied youthfulness of Agamemnon and Menelaus at the time of the death of their father Atreus is inconsistent with the narrative of Hyginus (*Fab.* 88), who tells how Atreus had sent his two sons abroad to find and arrest Thyestes.

ἄγει πρὸς Πολυφείδεα, κρατοῦντα Σικυῶνος,
ὃς πάλιν τούτους πέπομφε πρὸς Αἰτωλὸν Οἰνέα.
μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ Τυνδάρεως τούτους κατάγει πάλιν,
οἳ τὸν Θυέστην μὲν αὐτὸν Ἥρας βωμῷ φυγόντα
ὁρκώσαντες διώκουσιν οἰκεῖν τὴν Κυθηρίαν.
οἱ δὲ Τυνδάρεω γαμβροὶ γίνονται θυγατράσιν,
ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων μὲν λαβὼν σύνευνον Κλυταιμνήστραν,
κτείνας αὐτῆς τὸν σύζυγον Τάνταλον τὸν Θυέστου
σὺν τέκνῳ πάνυ νεογνῷ, Μενέλαος Ἑλένην.>

S 16 | Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ βασιλεύει Μυκηναίων καὶ γαμεῖ Τυνδάρεω θυγατέρα Κλυταιμνήστραν, τὸν πρότερον αὐτῆς ἄνδρα Τάνταλον Θυέστου σὺν τῷ παιδὶ κτείνας,[1] καὶ γίνεται αὐτῷ παῖς μὲν Ὀρέστης, θυγατέρες δὲ Χρυσόθεμις Ἠλέκτρα Ἰφιγένεια. Μενέλαος δὲ Ἑλένην γαμεῖ καὶ βασιλεύει Σπάρτης, Τυνδάρεω τὴν βασιλείαν δόντος αὐτῷ.

III. Λύθις δὲ Ἑλένην Ἀλέξανδρος ἁρπάζει, ὥς τινες λέγουσι κατὰ βούλησιν Διός, ἵνα Εὐρώπης καὶ Ἀσίας εἰς πόλεμον ἐλθούσης[2] ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ ἔνδοξος γένηται, ἣ καθάπερ εἶπον ἄλλοι
2 ὅπως τὸ τῶν ἡμιθέων γένος ἀρθῇ. διὰ δὴ τούτων

[1] κτείνας Frazer (compare Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 1150; Pausanias, ii. 18. 2, ii. 22. 2 *sq.*; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades* i. 464, quoted above): κτείναντος S, Wagner.

[2] ἐλθούσης S. Perhaps we should read ἐλθουσῶν.

[1] Polyphides is said to have been the twenty-fourth king of Sicyon and to have reigned at the time when Troy was taken. See Eusebius, *Chronic.* vol. i. coll. 175, 176, ed. A. Schoene.

[2] As to Tantalus, the first husband of Clytaemnestra, and his murder by Agamemnon, see Euripides, *Iphigenia in*

to Polyphides, lord of Sicyon,[1] who again sent them to Oeneus, the Aetolian. Not long afterwards Tyndareus brought them back again, and they drove away Thyestes to dwell in Cytheria, after that they had taken an oath of him at the altar of Hera, to which he had fled. And they became the sons-in-law of Tyndareus by marrying his daughters, Agamemnon getting Clytaemnestra to wife, after he had slain her spouse Tantalus, the son of Thyestes, together with his newborn babe, while Menelaus got Helen.

And Agamemnon reigned over the Mycenaeans and married Clytaemnestra, daughter of Tyndareus, after slaying her former husband Tantalus, son of Thyestes, with his child.[2] And there were born to Agamemnon a son Orestes, and daughters, Chrysothemis, Electra, and Iphigenia.[3] And Menelaus married Helen and reigned over Sparta, Tyndareus having ceded the kingdom to him.[4]

III. But afterwards Alexander carried off Helen, as some say, because such was the will of Zeus, in order that his daughter might be famous for having embroiled Europe and Asia; or, as others have said, that the race of the demigods might be exalted. For

Aulis, 1148 *sqq.*; Pausanias, ii. 18. 2, ii. 22. 2 *sq.* According to Pausanias, he was a son of Thyestes or of Broteas, and his bones were deposited in a large bronze vessel at Argos.

[3] In Homer (*Il.* ix. 142 *sqq.*) Agamemnon says that he has a son Orestes and three daughters, Chrysothemis, Laodice, and Iphianassa (Iphigenia), and he offers to give any one of his daughters in marriage to Achilles without a dowry, if only that doughty hero will forgive him and fight again for the Greeks against Troy. Electra, the daughter of Agamemnon, who figures so prominently in Greek tragedy, is unknown to Homer, and so is the sacrifice of Agamemnon's third daughter, Iphigenia.

[4] See above, iii. 11. 2.

ES μίαν αἰτίαν | μῆλον περὶ κάλλους Ἔρις ἐμβάλλει Ἥρᾳ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ, καὶ κελεύει Ζεὺς[1] Ἑρμῆν εἰς Ἴδην πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἄγειν, ἵνα ὑπ' ἐκείνου διακριθῶσι. αἱ δὲ ἐπαγγέλλονται δῶρα δώσειν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, Ἥρα μὲν πασῶν προκριθεῖσα βασιλείαν πάντων,[2] Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ πολέμου νίκην, Ἀφροδίτη δὲ γάμον Ἑλένης. ὁ δὲ[3] Ἀφροδίτην προκρίνει καὶ πηξαμένην Φερέκλου ναῦς[4] εἰς Σπάρ-
3 την ἐκπλέει. ἐφ' ἡμέρας δ' ἐννέα ξενισθεὶς παρὰ Μενελάῳ, τῇ δεκάτῃ πορευθέντος εἰς Κρήτην ἐκείνου κηδεῦσαι τὸν μητροπάτορα Κατρέα, πείθει τὴν Ἑλένην ἀπαγαγεῖν σὺν ἑαυτῷ. ἡ δὲ ἐννάετη

[1] Ζεὺς E, omitted in S.

[2] Ἥρα μὲν πασῶν προκριθεῖσα βασιλείαν πάντων E: Ἥρα μὲν οὖν ἔφη προκριθεῖσα δώσειν αὐτῷ πάντων βασιλείαν S.

[3] ὁ δὲ Ἀφροδίτην . . . τῇ δεκάτῃ E: Ἀφροδίτην δὲ προκρίνας πηξαμένου ναῦς Φερέκλου πλεύσας εἰς Σπάρτην ἐπὶ ἐννέα ἡμέρας ξενίζεται παρὰ Μενελάου. τῇ δεκάτῃ δὲ S.

[4] ναῦς S: νῆας E. For the form ναῦς compare ii. 8. 2, *Epitome*, iii. 9. 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 31, iv. 4, v. 13, 22, vi. 29, vii. 3, 4.

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[1] As to the judgment of Paris (Alexander), see Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 25 *sqq.*; *Cypria*, in Proclus, *Chrestom.* i. (*Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 16 *sq.*; *Hesiod, etc.*, ed. H. G. Evelyn-White, pp 488, 490, in *Loeb Classical Library*); Euripides, *Troades*, 924 *sqq.*, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 1290 *sqq.*, *Helen*, 23 *sqq.*, *Andromache*, 274 *sqq.*; Isocrates, *Helenae*, 41; Lucian, *Dial. deorum*, 20, *Dial. marin.* 5, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 93; Hyginus, *Fab.* 92; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 27; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 65 *sq.*, 142 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 208; Second Vatican Mythographer, 205) The story ran that all the gods and goddesses, except Strife, were invited to attend the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and that Strife, out of spite at being overlooked, threw among the wedding guests a golden apple inscribed

one of these reasons Strife threw an apple as a prize of beauty to be contended for by Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite; and Zeus commanded Hermes to lead them to Alexander on Ida in order to be judged by him. And they promised to give Alexander gifts. Hera said that if she were preferred to all women, she would give him the kingdom over all men; and Athena promised victory in war, and Aphrodite the hand of Helen. And he decided in favour of Aphrodite[1]; and sailed away to Sparta with ships built by Phereclus.[2] For nine days he was entertained by Menelaus; but on the tenth day, Menelaus having gone on a journey to Crete to perform the obsequies of his mother's father Catreus, Alexander persuaded Helen to go off[3] with him. And she

with the words, "Let the fair one take it," or "The apple for the fair." Three goddesses, Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite, contended for this prize of beauty, and Zeus referred the disputants to the judgment of Paris. The intervention of Strife was mentioned in the *Cypria* according to Proclus, but without mention of the golden apple, which first appears in late writers, such as Lucian and Hyginus. The offers made by the three divine competitors to Paris are recorded with substantial agreement by Euripides (*Troades*, 924 *sqq.*), Isocrates, Lucian, and Apollodorus. Hyginus is also in harmony with them, if in his text we read *fortissimum* for the *formissimum* of the MSS., for which some editors wrongly read *formosissimum*. The scene of the judgment of Paris was represented on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae and on the chest of Cypselus at Olympia (Pausanias, iii. 18. 12, v. 19. 5).

[2] Compare Homer, *Il.* v. 59 *sqq.*, from which we learn that the shipbuilder was a son of Tecton, who was a son of Harmon. The names of his father and grandfather indicate, as Dr. Leaf observes, that the business had been carried on in the family for three generations. Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 97.

[3] The Greek for "to go off" is ἀπαγαγεῖν, a rare use of ἀπάγειν, which, however, occurs in the common phrase, ἄπαγε, "Be off with you!"

Ἑρμιόνην καταλιποῦσα, ἐνθεμένη τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν
4 χρημάτων, ἀνάγεται τῆς νυκτὸς σὺν αὐτῷ. Ἥρα
δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπιπέμπει χειμῶνα πολύν, ὑφ' οὗ βια-
σθέντες προσίσχουσι Σιδῶνι. εὐλαβούμενος δὲ
Ἀλέξανδρος μὴ διωχθῇ, πολὺν διέτριψε χρόνον
ἐν Φοινίκῃ καὶ Κύπρῳ. ὡς δὲ ἀπῆλπισε τὴν
5 δίωξιν, ἦκεν εἰς Τροίαν μετὰ Ἑλένης. ἔνιοι δέ
φασιν Ἑλένην μὲν ὑπὸ Ἑρμοῦ κατὰ βούλησιν
Διὸς κομισθῆναι κλαπεῖσαν[1] εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ
δοθεῖσαν Πρωτεῖ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
φυλάττειν, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ παραγενέσθαι εἰς Τροίαν
πεποιημένον ἐκ νεφῶν εἴδωλον Ἑλένης ἔχοντα.

[1] κλαπεῖσαν E : κατὰ πεῖσαν S.

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[1] With this account of the hospitable reception of Paris in Sparta, the departure of Menelaus for Crete, and the flight of the guilty pair, compare Proclus, *Chrestom.* i., in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 17; J. Tzetzes, *Antehomerica*, 96–134. As to the death of Catreus, the maternal grandfather of Menelaus, see above, iii. 2. 1 *sq.*

[2] The voyage of Paris and Helen to Sidon was known to Homer (*Il.* vi. 289 *sqq.*, with the Scholia on v. 291). It was also recorded in the epic *Cypria*, according to Proclus, who says that Paris captured the city (*Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 18). Yet according to Herodotus (ii. 117), the author of the *Cypria* described how Paris and Helen sailed in three days from Sparta to Ilium with a fair wind and a smooth sea. It seems therefore that Herodotus and Proclus had different texts of the *Cypria* before them. Dictys Cretensis tells how, driven by the winds to Cyprus, Paris sailed with some ships to Sidon, where he was hospitably entertained by the king, but basely requited his hospitality by treacherously murdering his host and plundering the palace. In embarking with his booty on his ships, he was attacked by the Sidonians, but, after a bloody fight and the loss of two ships, he succeeded in beating off his assailants and putting to sea with the rest of his vessels. See Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, i. 5.

abandoned Hermione, then nine years old, and putting most of the property on board, she set sail with him by night.[1] But Hera sent them a heavy storm which forced them to put in at Sidon. And fearing lest he should be pursued, Alexander spent much time in Phoenicia and Cyprus.[2] But when he thought that all chance of pursuit was over, he came to Troy with Helen. But some say that Hermes, in obedience to the will of Zeus, stole Helen and carried her to Egypt, and gave her to Proteus, king of the Egyptians, to guard, and that Alexander repaired to Troy with a phantom of Helen fashioned out of clouds.[3]

[3] Compare Euripides, *Helena*, 31–51, 582 *sqq.*, 669 *sqq.*, *Electra*, 1280 *sqq.* In the *Helena* the dramatist says that Hera, angry with Paris for preferring Aphrodite to her, fashioned a phantom Helen, which he wedded, while the real Helen was transported by Hermes to Egypt and committed to the care of Proteus. In the *Electra* the poet says that it was Zeus who sent a phantom Helen to Troy, in order to stir up strife and provoke bloodshed among men. A different account is given by Herodotus (ii. 112–120). According to him, Paris carried the real Helen to Egypt, but there king Proteus, indignant at the crime of which Paris had been guilty, banished him from Egypt and detained Helen in safekeeping until her true husband, Menelaus, came and fetched her away. Compare Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* iv. 16; J. Tzetzes, *Antehomerica*, 147 *sqq.* Later writers accepted this view, adding that instead of the real Helen, whom he kept, Proteus conjured up by magic art a phantom Helen, which he gave to Paris to carry away with him to Troy. See Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 113; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 651, ii. 592. So far as we know, the poet Stesichorus in the sixth century before our era was the first to broach the theory that Helen at Troy, for whom the Greeks and Trojans fought and died, was a mere wraith, while her true self was far away, whether at home in Sparta or with Proteus in Egypt; for there is nothing to show whether Stesichorus shared the opinion that Paris had spirited her away to the East before he returned, with or without her, to Troy. This view the

§ 6 | Μενέλαος δὲ αἰσθόμενος τὴν ἁρπαγὴν ἦκεν εἰς Μυκήνας πρὸς Ἀγαμέμνονα, καὶ δεῖται στρατείαν ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἀθροίζειν καὶ στρατολογεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὁ δὲ πέμπων κήρυκα πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ὅρκων ὑπεμίμνησκεν ὧν ὤμοσαν, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας γυναικὸς ἕκαστον ἀσφαλίζεσθαι παρῄνει, ἴσην λέγων γεγενῆσθαι τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταφρόνησιν καὶ κοινήν. ὄντων δὲ πολλῶν προθύμων στρατεύεσθαι, παραγίνονται καὶ πρὸς § 7 Ὀδυσσέα εἰς Ἰθάκην. | ὁ δὲ οὐ βουλόμενος[1] στρατεύεσθαι προσποιεῖται μανίαν. Παλαμήδης δὲ ὁ Ναυπλίου ἤλεγξε τὴν μανίαν ψευδῆ, καὶ προσποιησαμένῳ[2] μεμηνέναι παρηκολούθει· ἁρπάσας δὲ Τηλέμαχον ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου τῆς Πηνελόπης[3] ὡς κτενῶν ἐξιφούλκει. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς εὐλαβηθεὶς ὡμολόγησε τὴν προσποίητον μανίαν καὶ στρατεύεται.

[1] ὁ δὲ οὐ βουλόμενος S : ὅτι Ὀδυσσεὺς οὐ βουλόμενος E.
[2] προσποιησαμένῳ E : προσποιησαμένου S.
[3] ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου τῆς Πηνελόπης E : ἐκ τοῦ Πηνελόπης κόλπου S.

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poet propounded by way of an apology to Helen for the evil he had spoken of her in a former poem: for having lost the sight of his eyes he ascribed the loss to the vengeance of the heroine, and sought to propitiate her by formally retracting all the scandals he had bruited about concerning her. See Plato, *Phaedrus*, p. 243 A B, *Republic*, ix. p. 586 C; Isocrates, *Helenae*, 64; Pausanias, iii. 19. 13; *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, ed. Th. Bergk[3], iii. 980 *sqq.*

[1] As to these oaths, see above, iii. 10. 9.

[2] As to the madness which Ulysses feigned in order to escape going to the Trojan war, see Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 18; Lucian, *De domo*, 30; Philostratus, *Heroica*, xi. 2; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 818; Cicero, *De officiis*, iii. 26. 97; Hyginus,

When Menelaus was aware of the rape, he came to Agamemnon at Mycenae, and begged him to muster an army against Troy and to raise levies in Greece. And he, sending a herald to each of the kings, reminded them of the oaths which they had sworn,[1] and warned them to look to the safety each of his own wife, saying that the affront had been offered equally to the whole of Greece. And while many were eager to join in the expedition, some repaired also to Ulysses in Ithaca. But he, not wishing to go to the war, feigned madness. However, Palamedes, son of Nauplius, proved his madness to be fictitious; and when Ulysses pretended to rave, Palamedes followed him, and snatching Telemachus from Penelope's bosom, drew his sword as if he would kill him. And in his fear for the child Ulysses confessed that his madness was pretended, and he went to the war.[2]

Fab. 95; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 81; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Achill.* i. 93; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i pp. 12, 140 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 35; Second Vatican Mythographer, 200). The usual story seems to have been that to support his pretence of insanity Ulysses yoked an ox and a horse or an ass to the plough and sowed salt. While he was busy fertilizing the fields in this fashion, the Greek envoys arrived, and Palamedes, seeing through the deception, laid the infant son of Ulysses in front of the plough, whereupon the father at once checked the plough and betrayed his sanity. However, Lucian agrees with Apollodorus in saying that Palamedes threatened the child with his sword, though at the same time, by mentioning the unlike animals yoked together, he shows that he had the scene of the ploughing in his mind. His description purports to be based on a picture, probably a famous picture of the scene which was still exhibited at Ephesus in the time of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 129). Sophocles wrote a play on the subject, called *The Mad Ulysses*. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 115 *sqq.*

E 8 | Ὅτι Ὀδυσσεὺς λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον Φρύγα ἠνάγκασε γράψαι περὶ προδοσίας ὡς παρὰ Πριάμου πρὸς Παλαμήδην καὶ χώσας ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς[1] αὐτοῦ χρυσὸν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔρριψεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ ἀναγνοὺς καὶ εὑρὼν τὸ χρυσόν, τοῖς συμμάχοις αὐτὸν ὡς προδότην παρέδωκε καταλεῦσαι.

9 Ὅτι Μενέλαος σὺν Ὀδυσσεῖ καὶ Ταλθυβίῳ πρὸς <Κινύραν εἰς>[2] Κύπρον ἐλθόντες συμμαχεῖν ἐπείθουν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνονι μὲν οὐ παρόντι θωρακας ἐδωρήσατο, ὁμόσας δὲ πέμψειν πεντήκοντα ναῦς, μίαν πέμψας, ἧς ἦρχεν[3] . . . ὁ Μυγδαλίωνος, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκ γῆς πλίσας μεθῆκεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος

10 Ὅτι θυγατέως Ἀνίου τοῦ[4] Ἀπόλλωνος Ἐλαὶ

[1] We should perhaps read ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ.
[2] πρὸς <Κινύραν εἰς> Κύπρον Wagner: πρὸς Κύπρον E.
[3] The personal name of the captain of the ship seems to have dropped out.
[4] Ἀνίου τοῦ Wagner: Ἀνιούτου τοῦ E.

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[1] The Machiavellian device by which the crafty Ulysses revenged himself on Palamedes for forcing him to go to the war is related more fully by a Scholiast on Euripides (*Orestes*, 432) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 105). According to the Scholiast, a servant of Palamedes was bribed to secrete the forged letter and the gold under his master's bed, where they were discovered and treated as damning evidence of treason. According to Hyginus, Ulysses had recourse to a still more elaborate stratagem in order to bury the gold in the earth under the tent of Palamedes. Compare Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 81; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Achill.* i. 93; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 12, 140 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 35; Second Vatican Mythographer, 200). An entirely different account of the plot against Palamedes is told by Dictys Cretensis (*Bellum*

Having taken a Phrygian prisoner, Ulysses compelled him to write a letter of treasonable purport ostensibly sent by Priam to Palamedes; and having buried gold in the quarters of Palamedes, he dropped the letter in the camp. Agamemnon read the letter, found the gold, and delivered up Palamedes to the allies to be stoned as a traitor.[1]

Menelaus went with Ulysses and Talthybius to Cinyras in Cyprus and tried to persuade him to join the allies. He made a present of breastplates to the absent Agamemnon,[2] and swore he would send fifty ships, but he sent only one, commanded by the son of Mygdalion, and the rest he moulded out of earth and launched them in the sea.[3]

The daughters of Anius, the son of Apollo, to wit,

Trojanum, ii. 15). He says that Ulysses and Diomede induced him to descend into a well, and then buried him under rocks which they hurled down on the top of him.

[2] Compare Homer, *Il.* xi. 19 *sqq.*, who describes only one richly decorated breastplate.

[3] Compare Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* xi. 20, p. 827, who says that, according to some people, Cinyras "swore to Menelaus at Paphos that he would send fifty ships, but he despatched only one, and the rest he fashioned of earth and sent them with earthen men in them; thus he cunningly evaded his oath by keeping it with an earthenware fleet." Compare the Townley Scholia on Homer, *Il.* xi. 20, ed. E. Maass (Oxford, 1887), vol. i. p. 378. Wagner may be right in supposing that this ruse of the Cyprian king was recorded in the epic *Cypria*, though it is not mentioned in the brief summary of the poem compiled by Proclus. See R. Wagner, *Epitoma Vaticana ex Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 181 *sq.* A different account of the Greek embassy to Cinyras is given by Alcidamas (*Odyss.* 20 *sq.*, pp. 181 *sq.*, ed. Blass). He says that Cinyras bribed the Greek envoy Palamedes to relieve him from military service, and that, though he promised to send a hundred ships, he sent none at all.

Σπερμὼ Οἰνώ, αἱ Οἰνότροφοι[1] λεγόμεναι· αἷς ἐχαρίσατο Διόνυσος ποιεῖν ἐκ γῆς ἔλαιον σῖτον οἶνον.

S. 11 | Συνηθροίζετο δὲ ὁ στρατὸς ἐν Αὐλίδι. οἱ δὲ στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἦσαν οἵδε. Βοιωτῶν

[1] Οἰνότροφοι E: Οἰνότροποι Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 570 (but according to the editor, Müller, the MSS. have φ written over the π).

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[1] As to these three women, the Wine-growers (*Oinotrophoi* or *Oinotropoi*) see *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 29 *sq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 570, 581; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* vi. 164; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 632-674; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 80; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Troianum*, i. 23. Each of the Wine-growers received from Dionysus the power of producing the thing from which she derived her name, thus Elaïs, who took her name from *elaia*, "an olive," could produce olive oil; Spermo, who took her name from *sperma*, "seed," could produce corn; and Oeno, who took her name from *oinos*, "wine," could produce wine. According to Apollodorus, the women elicited these products from the ground; but according to Ovid and Servius, whatever they touched was turned into olive oil, corn, or wine, as the case might be. Possessing these valuable powers, the daughters of Anius were naturally much sought after. Their father, a son of Apollo, was king of Delos and at the same time priest of his father Apollo (Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 80), and when Aeneas visited the island on his way from Troy, the king, with pardonable pride, dwelt on his daughters' accomplishments and on the income they had brought him in (Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 650 *sqq.*). It is said by Tzetzes that when the Greeks sailed for Troy and landed in Delos, the king, who had received the gift of prophecy from his divine sire (Diodorus Siculus, v. 62. 2), foretold that Troy would not be taken for ten years, and invited them to stay with him for nine years, promising that his daughters would find them in food all the time. This hospitable offer was apparently not accepted at the moment; but afterwards, when the Greeks were encamped before Troy, Agamemnon sent for the young women and

Elais, Spermo, and Oeno, are called the Wine-growers: Dionysus granted them the power of producing oil, corn, and wine from the earth.[1]

The armament mustered in Aulis. The men who went to the Trojan war were as follows[2]:—Of the

ordered them peremptorily to feed his army. This they did successfully, if we may believe Tzetzes; but, to judge by Ovid's account, they found the work of the commissariat too exacting, for he says that they took to flight. Being overtaken by their pursuers, they prayed to Dionysus, who turned them into white doves. And that, says Servius, is why down to this day it is deemed a sin to harm a dove in Delos. From Tzetzes we learn that the story of these prolific damsels was told by Pherecydes and by the author of the epic *Cypria*, from whom Pherecydes may have borrowed it. Stesichorus related how Menelaus and Ulysses went to Delos to fetch the daughters of Anius (Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* vi. 164). If we may judge from the place which the brief mention of these women occupies in the *Epitome* of Apollodorus, we may conjecture that in his full text he described how their services were requisitioned to victual the fleet and army assembling at Aulis. The conjecture is confirmed by the statement of Dictys Cretensis, that before the Greek army set sail from Aulis, it had received a supply of corn, wine, and other provisions from Anius and his daughters. It may have been in order to ensure these supplies that Menelaus and Ulysses repaired to Delos for the purpose of securing the persons of the women.

[2] As to list of the Greek forces which mustered at Aulis, see Homer, *Il.* ii. 494-759; Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 253 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 97; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, i. 17. The numbers of the ships and leaders recorded by Apollodorus do not always tally with those of Homer. For example, he gives the Boeotians forty ships, while Homer (*v.* 509) gives them fifty; and he says that the Phocians had four leaders, whereas Homer (*v.* 517) mentions only two. The question of the catalogue of the Greek forces, and its relation to Homer and history, are fully discussed by Dr. Walter Leaf in his *Homer and History* (London, 1915). He concludes that the catalogue forms no part of the original

μὲν ἡγεμόνες δέκα· ἦγον ναῦς μ'. Ὀρχομενίων δ'· ἦγον ναῦς κ'. Φωκέων ἡγεμόνες δ'· ἦγον ναῦς μ'. Λοκρῶν Αἴας Ὀιλέως·[1] ἦγε ναῦς μ'. Εὐβοέων Ἐλεφήνωρ Χαλκώδοντος καὶ Ἀλκυόνης· ἦγε ναῦς μ'. Ἀθηναίων Μενεσθεύς· ἦγε ναῦς ν'. Σαλα-
12 μινίων[2] Αἴας ὁ Τελαμώνιος· ἦγε ναῦς ιβ'. Ἀργείων Διομήδης Τυδέως καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ· ἦγον ναῦς π'. Μυκηναίων Ἀγαμέμνων Ἀτρέως καὶ Ἀερόπης ναῦς ρ'. Λακεδαιμονίων Μενέλαος Ἀτρέως καὶ Ἀερόπης ξ'. Πυλίων[3] Νέστωρ Νηλέως καὶ Χλωρίδος ναῦς μ'. Ἀρκάδων Ἀγαπήνωρ ναῦς ζ'. Ἠλείων Ἀμφίμαχος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ναῦς μ'. Δουλιχίων Μέγης Φυλέως ναῦς μ'. Κεφαλλήνων Ὀδυσσεὺς Λαέρτου καὶ Ἀντικλείας[4] ναῖς ιβ'. Αἰτωλῶν Θόας Ἀνδραίμονος καὶ Γόργης· ἦγε
13 ναῦς α'. Κρητῶν Ἰδομενεὺς Δευκαλίωνος μ'. Ῥοδίων Τληπόλεμος[5] Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ἀστυόχης ναῦς θ'. Συμαίων Νιρεὺς Χαρόπου[6] ναῦς γ'.

[1] Ὀιλέως Kerameus : δ ἰλέως S.
[2] Σαλαμινίων Kerameus : Σαλαμινίων S.
[3] Πυλίων Kerameus : Πηλίων S.
[4] Ἀντικλείας Kerameus : Αὐτικλείας S.
[5] Τληπόλεμος Kerameus : τλιπόλεβυς S.
[6] Συμαίων Νιρεὺς Χαρόπου Kerameus : κυμαίων νηρεὺς χαροποῦ S.

Iliad, but was added to it at a later time by a patriotic Boeotian for the purpose of glorifying his people by claiming that they played a very important part in the Trojan war, although this claim is inconsistent with the statement of Thucydides (i. 12) that the Boeotians did not migrate into the country henceforth known as Boeotia until sixty years

Boeotians, ten leaders: they brought forty ships. Of the Orchomenians, four: they brought thirty ships. Of the Phocians, four leaders: they brought forty ships. Of the Locrians, Ajax, son of Oileus: he brought forty ships. Of the Euboeans, Elephenor, son of Chalcodon and Alcyone: he brought forty ships. Of the Athenians, Menestheus: he brought fifty ships. Of the Salaminians, Telamonian Ajax: he brought twelve ships. Of the Argives, Diomedes, son of Tydeus, and his company: they brought eighty ships. Of the Mycenaeans, Agamemnon, son of Atreus and Aerope: a hundred ships. Of the Lacedaemonians, Menelaus, son of Atreus and Aerope: sixty ships. Of the Pylians, Nestor, son of Neleus and Chloris: forty ships. Of the Arcadians, Agapenor: seven ships. Of the Eleans, Amphimachus and his company: forty ships. Of the Dulichians, Meges, son of Phyleus: forty ships. Of the Cephallenians, Ulysses, son of Laertes and Anticlia: twelve ships. Of the Aetolians, Thoas, son of Andraemon and Gorge: he brought forty ships. Of the Cretans, Idomeneus, son of Deucalion: forty ships. Of the Rhodians, Tlepolemus, son of Hercules and Astyoche: nine ships. Of the Symaeans,

after the capture of Troy. I agree with Dr. Leaf in the belief, which he energetically maintains in this book, that the Trojan war was not a myth, but a real war, "fought out in the place, and at least generally in the manner, described in Homer," and that the principal heroes and heroines recorded by Homer were not "faded gods" but men and women of flesh and blood, of whose families and fortunes the memory survived in Greek tradition, though no doubt in course of time many mythical traits and incidents gathered round them, as they have gathered round the memories of the Hebrew patriarchs, of Alexander the Great, of Virgil, and of Charlemagne.

Κώων Φείδιππος καὶ Ἄντιφος οἱ Θεσσαλοῦ λ'.
14 Μυρμιδόνων Ἀχιλλεὺς Πηλέως καὶ Θέτιδος ι'. ἐκ Φυλάκης Πρωτεσίλαος Ἰφίκλου μ'. Φεραίων Εὔμηλος Ἀδμήτου ια'. Ὀλιζώνων Φιλοκτήτης Ποίαντος ζ'. Λιτιάνων Γουνεὺς Ὠκύτου κβ'. Τρικκαίων Ποδαλείριος[1] . . . λ'. Ὀρμενίων Εὐρύπυλος[2] . . . ναῦς μ'. Γυρτωνίων[3] Πολυποίτης Πειρίθου λ'. Μαγνήτων Πρόθοος Τενθρηδόνος[4] μ'. νῆες μὲν οὖν αἱ πᾶσαι χιλίαι, ἡγεμόνες δὲ μγ', ἡγεμονεῖαι δὲ λ'.

ES 15 | Ὅτι ὄντος ἐν Αὐλίδι τοῦ στρατεύματος, θυσίας γενομένης Ἀπόλλωνι,[5] ὁρμήσας δράκων ἐκ τοῦ βωμοῦ παρὰ τὴν πλησίον πλάτανον, οὔσης ἐν αὐτῇ νεοττιᾶς,[6] τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ καταναλώσας στρουθοὺς ὀκτὼ σὺν τῇ μητρὶ ἐνάτη λίθος ἐγένετο. Κάλχας δὲ εἶπεν κατὰ Διὸς βούλησιν γεγονέναι αὐτοῖς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο, τεκμηράμενος ἐκ τῶν γεγονότων ἔφη δεκαετεῖ χρόνῳ δεῖν Τροίαν ἁλῶναι.
16 καὶ πλεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ Τροίαν.[8] Ἀγαμέμνων οὖν αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ

[1] The blank is doubtless to be supplied thus: Ποδαλείριος <καὶ Μαχάων Ἀσκληπιοῦ>, "Podalirius <and Machaon, sons of Aesculapius>," as Wagner observes, comparing Homer, *Il.* ii. 731 *sq.*

[2] Εὐρύπυλον. Add <Εὐαίμονος>, "Eurypylus, <son of Euaemon>," as Wagner observes, comparing Homer, *Il.* ii. 736.

[3] Γυρτωνίων Kerameus: γοργυτίων S.

[4] Τενθρηδόνος Kerameus: Πενθρηδόνος S.

[5] Ὅτι ὄντος ἐν Αὐλίδι τοῦ στρατεύματος, θυσίας γενομένης Ἀπόλλωνι E: θυσίας δὲ γενομένης ἐν Αὐλίδι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, ὄντος ἐκεῖ τοῦ στρατεύματος S.

Nireus, son of Charopus: three ships. Of the Coans, Phidippus and Antiphus, the sons of Thessalus: thirty ships. Of the Myrmidons, Achilles, son of Peleus and Thetis: fifty ships. From Phylace, Protesilaus, son of Iphiclus: forty ships. Of the Pheraeans, Eumelus, son of Admetus: eleven ships. Of the Olizonians, Philoctetes, son of Poeas: seven ships. Of the Aeanianians, Guneus, son of Ocytus: twenty-two ships. Of the Triccaeans, Podalirius: thirty ships. Of the Ormenians, Eurypylus: forty ships. Of the Gyrtonians, Polypoetes, son of Pirithous: thirty ships. Of the Magnesians, Prothous, son of Tenthredon: forty ships. The total of ships was one thousand and thirteen; of leaders, forty-three; of leaderships, thirty.

When the armament was in Aulis, after a sacrifice to Apollo, a serpent darted from the altar beside the neighbouring plane-tree, in which there was a nest; and having consumed the eight sparrows in the nest, together with the mother-bird, which made the ninth, it was turned to stone. Calchas said that this sign was given them by the will of Zeus, and he inferred from what had happened that Troy was destined to be taken in a period of ten years.[1] And they made ready to sail against Troy. So Agamemnon in person was in command of the whole

[1] Compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 299-330; Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 18; Cicero, *De divinatione*, ii. 30. 63–65; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 11–23.

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[6] *νεοττιᾶς* E: *νεοττείας* S. [7] *ἐν* S: *ἐφ'* E.

[8] *καὶ πλεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ Τροίαν.* These words are wanting in E.

[9] *Ἀγαμέμνων οὖν αὐτὸς ἡγεμὼν* S: *Ὅτι Ἀγαμέμνων ἡγεμὼν* E.

ἦν, ἐνανάρχει[1] δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς πεντεκαιδεκαέτης τυγχάνων.

E 17 | Ἀγνοοῦντες δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ Τροίαν πλοῦν Μυσίᾳ προσίσχουσι καὶ ταύτην ἐπόρθουν, Τροίαν νομίζοντες εἶναι. βασιλεύων δὲ Τήλεφος Μυσῶν, Ἡρακλέους παῖς, ἰδὼν τὴν χώραν λεηλατουμένην, τοὺς Μυσοὺς καθοπλίσας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς συνεδίωκε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐν οἷς καὶ Θέρσανδρον τὸν Πολυνείκους ἱποστάντα. ὁρμήσαντος δὲ Ἀχιλλέως ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐ μείνας ἐδιώκετο· καὶ διωκόμενος ἐμπλακεὶς εἰς ἄμπελον κλῆμα[2]
18 τὸν μηρὸν τιτρώσκεται δόρατι. τῆς δὲ Μυσίας ἐξελθόντες Ἕλληνες ἀνάγονται, καὶ χειμῶνος ἐπιγενομένου σφοδροῦ διαζευχθέντες ἀλλήλων εἰς τὰς πατρίδας καταντῶσιν. ὑποστρεψάντων οὖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τότε λέγεται τὸν πόλεμον εἰκοσαετῆ γενέσθαι· μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Ἑλένης ἁρπαγὴν ἔτει

[1] ἐνανάρχει E : ἐνανάρχη S.

[2] ἐμπλακεὶς εἰς ἄμπελον κλῆμα E. Perhaps we should read ἐμπλακεὶς ἀμπέλου κλήματι. Compare *Epitome*, i. 19, ii. 7. But the construction with εἰς and the accusative occurs in Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 1078 *sq.*

[1] No other ancient writer mentions that Achilles was high admiral of the fleet, though as son of a sea goddess he was obviously fitted for the post. Dictys Cretensis, however, tells us (*Bellum Trojanum*, i. 16) that Achilles shared the command of the ships with Ajax and Phoenix, while that of the land forces was divided between Palamedes, Diomedes, and Ulysses.

[2] With the following account of the landing of the Greeks in Mysia and their encounter with Telephus, compare Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed G. Kinkel, pp. 18 *sq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 59. The accounts of both these writers agree, to some extent verbally, with that of Apollodorus and are probably drawn from the same source, which may have been the epic *Cypria* summarized by Proclus.

army, and Achilles was admiral,[1] being fifteen years old.

But not knowing the course to steer for Troy, they put in to Mysia and ravaged it, supposing it to be Troy.[2] Now Telephus son of Hercules, was king of the Mysians, and seeing the country pillaged, he armed the Mysians, chased the Greeks in a crowd to the ships, and killed many, among them Thersander, son of Polynices, who had made a stand. But when Achilles rushed at him, Telephus did not abide the onset and was pursued, and in the pursuit he was entangled in a vine-branch and wounded with a spear in the thigh. Departing from Mysia, the Greeks put to sea, and a violent storm coming on, they were separated from each other and landed in their own countries.[3] So the Greeks returned at that time, and it is said that the war lasted twenty years.[4] For it was in the second year after the rape of Helen that the Greeks,

The Scholiast tells us that it was Dionysus who caused Telephus to trip over a vine branch, because Telephus had robbed the god of the honours that were his due. The incident is alluded to by Pindar; see *Isthm.* viii. 48 (106) *sqq.* The war in Mysia is narrated in more detail by Philostratus (*Heroica*, iii. 28–36) and Dictys Cretensis (*Bellum Trojanum*, ii. 1–7). Philostratus says (§ 35) that the wounded were washed in the waters of the hot Ionian springs, which the people of Smyrna called the springs of Agamemnon.

[3] Compare Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 19, according to whom Achilles, on this return voyage, landed in Scyros and married his youthful love Deidamia, daughter of Lycomedes. See above, iii. 13. 8.

[4] Compare Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 765 *sq.*, where Helen at Troy says that it was now the twentieth year since she had quitted her native land. The words have puzzled the Scholiasts and commentators, but are explained by the present passage of Apollodorus.

δευτέρῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρασκευαζομένους στρατεύεσθαι, ἀναχωρήσαντας[1] δὲ ἀπὸ Μυσίας εἰς Ἑλλάδα μετὰ ἔτη ὀκτὼ πάλιν εἰς Ἄργος μεταστραφέντας[2] ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αὐλίδα.

19 Συνελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν Ἄργει αὖθις μετὰ τὴν ῥηθεῖσαν ὀκταετίαν, ἐν ἀπορίᾳ τοῦ πλοῦ πολλῇ καθεστήκεσαν, καθηγεμόνα μὴ ἔχοντες, ὃς ἦν 20 δυνατὸς δεῖξαι τὴν εἰς Τροίαν. Τήλεφος δὲ ἐκ τῆς Μυσίας, ἀνίατον τὸ τραῦμα ἔχων, εἰπόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τότε τεύξεσθαι θεραπείας, ὅταν ὁ τρώσας ἰατρὸς γένηται, τρύχεσιν ἠμφιεσμένος εἰς Ἄργος ἀφίκετο, καὶ δεηθεὶς Ἀχιλλέως καὶ ὑπεσχημένος τὸν εἰς Τροίαν πλοῦν δεῖξαι θεραπεύεται ἀποξύσαντος Ἀχιλλέως τῆς Πηλιάδος μελίας τὸν ἰόν. θεραπευθεὶς οὖν ἔδειξε τὸν

[1] ἀναχωρήσαντας Wagner : ἀναχωρήσαντες E.
[2] μεταστραφέντας Wagner : μετατραφέντες E.

[1] This account of how Telephus steered the Greek fleet to Troy after being healed of his grievous wound by Achilles, is probably derived from the epic *Cypria*; since it agrees on these points with the brief summary of Proclus. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 19. Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 59; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, ii. 10. As to the cure of Telephus's wound by means of the rust of the spear, see also Hyginus, *Fab.* 101; Propertius, ii. 1. 63 *sq.*; Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, ii. 2. 6. Pliny describes a painting in which Achilles was represented scraping the rust from the blade of his spear with a sword into the wound of Telephus (*Nat. Hist.* xxv. 42, xxxiv. 152). The spear was the famous one which Chiron had bestowed on Peleus, the father of Achilles; the shaft was cut from an ash tree on Mount Pelion, and none of the Greeks at Troy, except Achilles, could wield it. See Homer, *Il.* xvi. 140-144, xix. 387-391, xxii. 133 *sq.* The healing of Telephus's wound by Achilles is also reported, though without mention of the spear, by Dictys Cretensis

having completed their preparations, set out on the expedition and after their retirement from Mysia to Greece eight years elapsed before they again returned to Argos and came to Aulis.

Having again assembled at Aulis after the aforesaid interval of eight years, they were in great perplexity about the voyage, because they had no leader who could show them the way to Troy. But Telephus, because his wound was unhealed, and Apollo had told him that he would be cured when the one who wounded him should turn physician, came from Mysia to Argos, clad in rags, and begged the help of Achilles, promising to show the course to steer for Troy. So Achilles healed him by scraping off the rust of his Pelian spear. Accordingly, on being healed, Telephus showed the course to steer,[1] and

(*l.c.*), a Scholiast on Homer (*Il.* i. 59) and a Scholiast on Aristophanes (*Clouds*, 919). The subject was treated by Sophocles in a play called *The Assembly of the Achaeans*, and by Euripides in a play called *Telephus*. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, i. 94 *sqq.*; *Griechische Dichterfragmente*. ii. *Lyrische und dramatische Fragmente*, ed. W. Schubart und U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (Berlin, 1907), pp. 64 *sqq.*; *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 161 *sqq.*, 579 *sqq.* Aristophanes ridiculed the rags and tatters in which Telephus appeared on the stage in Euripides's play (*Acharn.* 430 *sqq.*). Apollodorus may have had the passage of Euripides or the parody of Aristophanes in mind when he describes Telephus as clad in rags.

The cure of a wound by an application to it of rust from the weapon which inflicted the hurt is not to be explained, as Pliny supposed, by any medicinal property inherent in rust as such, else the rust from any weapon would serve the purpose. It is clearly a folk-lore remedy based on the principle of sympathetic magic. Similarly Iphiclus was cured of impotence by the rust of the same knife which had caused the infirmity. See Apollodorus, i. 9. 12. The

πλοῦν, τὸ τῆς δεξεως ἀσφαλὲς πιστουμένου τοῦ Κάλχαντος διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μαντικῆς.

21 Ἀναχθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπ' Ἄργους καὶ παραγε-
ES νομένων τὸ δεύτερον εἰς Αὐλίδα, τὸν στόλον ἄπλοια κατεῖχε.[1] Κάλχας δὲ ἔφη οὐκ[2] ἄλλως δύνασθαι πλεῖν αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ τῶν Ἀγαμέμνονος θυγατέρων ἡ κρατιστεύουσα κάλλει σφάγιον Ἀρτέμιδι[3] παραστῇ, διὰ τὸ μηνίειν[4] τιν θεὸν τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι, ὅτι τε βιλὸν ἔλαφον εἶπεν· οὐδὲ ἡ Ἄρτεμις, καὶ ὅτι
22 Ἀτρεὺς οὐκ ἔθυσεν αὐτῇ τὴν χρυσῆν ἄρνα. τοῦ δὲ χρησμοῦ τούτου γενομένου, πέμψας Ἀγαμέμνων[5] πρὸς Κλυταιμνήστραν Ὀδυσσέα καὶ Ταλθύβιον Ἰφιγένειαν ἥτει, λέγων[6] ἐπεσχῆσθαι δώσειν αὐτὴν
S Ἀχιλλεῖ γυναῖκα μισθὸν τῆς στρατείας.[7] | πεμψά-
ES σης δὲ ἐκείνης Ἀγαμέμνων τῷ βωμῷ παραστήσας ἔμελλε σφάζειν. Ἄρτεμις δὲ αὐτὴν ἁρπάσασα

[1] τὸν στόλον ἄπλοια κατεῖχε E: ἄπλοια οὖν κατεῖχε τὸν στόλον S.

[2] οὐκ S: μὴ E.

[3] Ἀρτέμιδι E: Ἀρτέμιδος S.

[4] διὰ τὸ μηνίειν . . . τὴν χρυσῆν ἄρνα E: ἔλεγε γὰρ μηνίσαι Ἀγαμέμνονι τὴν θεὸν, κατὰ μέν τινας ἐπεὶ κατὰ θήραν ἐν Ἰκαρίῳ βαλὼν ἔναιρεν εἶπεν οὐ δυνασθαι σωτηρίας αὐτὴν τυχεῖν οὐδ' Ἀρτεμιδος θελούσης, κατὰ δέ τινας ὅτι τὴν χρυσῆν ἄρνα οὐκ ἔθυσεν αὐτῇ Ἀτρεύς S.

[5] τοῦ δὲ χρησμοῦ . . Ἀγαμέμνων S: πέμψας οὖν Ἀγαμέμνων E.

[6] Ἰφιγένειαν ἥτει, λέγων S: ἄγει τὴν Ἰφιγένειαν, εἰπὼν E.

[7] τῆς στρατείας S: τῆς στρατείας αὐτοῦ E.

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proverbial remedy for the bite of a dog "the hair of the dog that bit you," is strictly analogous in principle; for it is not the hair of any dog that will work the cure, but only the hair of the particular dog that inflicted the bite. Thus we read of a beggar who was bitten by a dog, at the vicarage of Heversham, in Westmoreland, and went back to the house to ask for some of the animal's hair to put on the wound. See W. Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-lore of the Northern*

the accuracy of his information was confirmed by Calchas by means of his own art of divination.

But when they had put to sea from Argos and arrived for the second time at Aulis, the fleet was wind-bound, and Calchas said that they could not sail unless the fairest of Agamemnon's daughters were presented as a sacrifice to Artemis; for the goddess was angry with Agamemnon, both because, on shooting a deer, he had said, "Artemis herself could not (do it better),"[1] and because Atreus had not sacrificed to her the golden lamb. On receipt of this oracle, Agamemnon sent Ulysses and Talthybius to Clytaemnestra and asked for Iphigenia, alleging a promise of his to give her to Achilles to wife in reward for his military service. So Clytaemnestra sent her, and Agamemnon set her beside the altar, and was about to slaughter her, when Artemis carried her off to the Taurians

Counties of England (London, 1879), p. 160, note [1]. A precisely similar remedy for similar hurts appears to be popular in China; for we hear of a missionary who travelled about the province of Canton accompanied by a powerful dog, which bit children in the villages through which his master passed; and when a child was bitten, its mother used to run after the missionary and beg for a hair from the dog's tail to lay on the child's wound as a remedy. See N. B. Dennys, *The Folk-lore of China* (London and Hongkong, 1876), p. 52. For more examples of supposed cures based on the principle of sympathy between the animal who bites and the person who is bitten, see W. Henderson, *l.c.*; W. G. Black, *Folk-Medicine* (London, 1883), pp. 50 *sqq.*; W. Gregor, *Notes on the Folk-lore of the North-East of Scotland* (London, 1881), p. 127.

[1] Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 183. The full expression is reported by the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 108, οὐδὲ ἡ Ἄρτεμις οὕτως ἂν ἐτόξευσε, "Not even Artemis could have shot like that." The elliptical phrase is wrongly interpreted by the Sabbaitic scribe. See the Critical Note.

εἰς Ταύρους ἱέρειαν ἑαυτῆς[1] κατέστησεν, ἔλαφον
S ἀντ' αὐτῆς παραστήσασα τῷ βωμῷ·[2] | ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι
λέγουσιν, ἀθάνατον αὐτὴν ἐποίησεν.

E 23 | Οἱ δὲ ἀναχθέντες ἐξ Αὐλίδος προσέσχον Τενέδῳ.
ταύτης ἐβασίλευε Τέννης ὁ Κύκνου καὶ Προκλείας,
ὡς δέ τινες Ἀπόλλωνος· οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς
24 φυγαδευθεὶς ἐνταῦθα[3] κατῴκει. Κύκνος γὰρ ἔχων
ἐκ Προκλείας τῆς Λαομέδοντος παῖδα μὲν Τέννην,
θυγατέρα δὲ Ἱμαθέαν, ἐπέγημε τὴν Τραγάσου[4]
Φιλονόμην· ἥτις Τέννου ἐρασθεῖσα καὶ μὴ πει-
θουσα καταψεύδεται πρὸς Κύκνον αὐτοῦ φθοράν,
καὶ τούτου μάρτυρα παρεῖχεν αὐλητὴν Εὔμολπον
25 ὄνομα. Κύκνος δὲ πιστεύσας, ἐνθέμενος αὐτὸν
μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς εἰς λάρνακα μεθῆκεν εἰς τὸ

[1] Ἄρτεμιν δὲ αὐτὴν ἁρπάσασα εἰς Ταύρους ἱέρειαν αὐτῆς S: ἀλλὰ ταύτην μὲν Ἄρτεμις ἁρπάσασα ἱέρειαν ἑαυτῆς εἰς Σκυθο-ταύρους E.

[2] παραστήσασα τῷ βωμῷ S: τῷ βωμῷ παραστήσασα E.

[3] ἐνταῦθα Frazer: ἐνταυθοῖ E.

[4] Τραγάσου E: Τραγασσου or Τραγασάσου (the MSS. seem to vary) Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 232: Κραγάσου Pausanias, x. 14. 2.

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[1] This account of the attempted sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis and the substitution of a doe agrees with the narrative of the same events in the epic *Cypria* as summarized by Proclus (*Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 19). It is also in harmony with the tragedy of Euripides on the same subject. See Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, especially *vv.* 87 *sqq.*, 358 *sqq.*, 1541 *sqq.* Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 183; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 108; Hyginus, *Fab.* 98; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 24–38; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Troianum*, i. 19–22; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 6 *sq.*, 141 (First Vatican Mythographer, 20; Second Vatican Mythographer, 202). Some said that Iphigenia was turned by the goddess into a bear or a bull (Tzetzes, *l.c.*). Dictys Cretensis dispenses with the intervention of

and appointed her to be her priestess, substituting a deer for her at the altar; but some say that Artemis made her immortal.[1]

After putting to sea from Aulis they touched at Tenedos. It was ruled by Tenes, son of Cycnus and Proclia, but according to some, he was a son of Apollo. He dwelt there because he had been banished by his father.[2] For Cycnus had a son Tenes and a daughter Hemithea by Proclia, daughter of Laomedon, but he afterwards married Philonome, daughter of Tragasus; and she fell in love with Tenes, and, failing to seduce him, falsely accused him to Cycnus of attempting to debauch her, and in witness of it she produced a fluteplayer, by name Eumolpus. Cycnus believed her, and putting him and his sister in a chest he set them adrift on the sea. The chest was washed

Artemis to save Iphigenia; according to him it was Achilles who rescued the maiden from the altar and conveyed her away to the Scythian king.

[2] The following story of Tenes, his stepmother's calumny, his banishment, and his elevation to the throne of Tenedos, is similarly told by Pausanias, x. 14. 2–4; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 232; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 38; Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* i. 38, p. 33. Eustathius and the Scholiast on Homer call Tenes's sister Leucothea, and give Polyboea as an alternative name of their stepmother. According to Pausanias, the first wife of Cycnus was a daughter of Clytius, not of Laomedon. As to the names, Tzetzes agrees with Apollodorus, whom he probably copied. A rationalized version of the story is told by Diodorus Siculus (V. 83). According to him, Tenes was worshipped after his death as a god by the people of Tenedos, who made a precinct for him and offered sacrifices to him down to late times. No fluteplayer was allowed to enter the precinct, because a fluteplayer had borne false witness against Tenes; and the name of Achilles might not be mentioned within it, because Achilles had killed Tenes. Compare Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae*, 28.

πέλαγος· προσσχοίσης δὲ αὐτῆς Λευκόφρυι νήσῳ ἐκβὰς ὁ Τένης κατώκησε ταύτην καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Τένεδον ἐκάλεσε. Κύκνος δὲ ὕστερον ἐπιγνοὺς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὸν μὲν αὐλητὴν κατέλευσε, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα ζῶσαν εἰς γῆν κατέχωσε.

26 Προσπλέοντας οὖν Τενέδῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὁρῶν Τένης ἀπεῖργε βάλλων πέτρους, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως ξίφει πληγεὶς κατὰ τὸ στῆθος θνήσκει, καίτοι Θέτιδος προειπούσης Ἀχιλλεῖ μὴ κτεῖναι Τένην· τεθνήξεσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτόν,
27 ἐὰν κτείνῃ Τένην. τελούντων δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀπόλλωνι θυσίαν, ἐκ τοῦ βωμοῦ προσελθὼν ὕδρος δάκνει Φιλοκτήτην· ἀθεραπεύτου δὲ τοῦ ἕλκους καὶ δυσώδους γενομένου τῆς τε ὁδμῆς οὐκ ἀνεχομένου τοῦ στρατοῦ, Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτὸν εἰς Λῆμνον μεθ' ὧν εἶχε τόξων Ἡρακλείων ἐκτίθησι κελεύσαντος Ἀγαμέμνονος. ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖ τὰ πτηνὰ τοξεύων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας τροφὴν εἶχεν.

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[1] Compare Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae*, 28. Plutarch mentions the warning given by Thetis to Achilles not to kill Tenes, and says that the goddess specially charged one of Achilles's servants to remind her son of the warning. But in scouring the island Achilles fell in with the beautiful sister of Tenes and made love to her; Tenes defended his sister against her seducer, and in the brawl was slain by Achilles. When the slayer discovered whom he had slain, he killed the servant who ought to have warned him in time, and he buried Tenes on the spot where the sanctuary was afterwards dedicated to his worship. This version of the story clearly differs from the one followed by Apollodorus.

[2] This story of the exposure and desertion of Philoctetes in Lemnos appears to have been told in the epic *Cypria*, as we may judge by the brief summary of Proclus. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 19. According to Proclus, the Greeks were feasting in Tenedos when

up on the island of Leucophrys, and Tenes landed and settled in the island, and called it Tenedos after himself. But Cycnus afterwards learning the truth, stoned the fluteplayer to death and buried his wife alive in the earth.

So when the Greeks were standing in for Tenedos, Tenes saw them and tried to keep them off by throwing stones, but was killed by Achilles with a sword-cut in the breast, though Thetis had forewarned Achilles not to kill Tenes, because he himself would die by the hand of Apollo if he slew Tenes.[1] And as they were offering a sacrifice to Apollo, a water-snake approached from the altar and bit Philoctetes; and as the sore did not heal and grew noisome, the army could not endure the stench, and Ulysses, by the orders of Agamemnon, put him ashore on the island of Lemnos, with the bow of Hercules which he had in his possession; and there, by shooting birds with the bow, he subsisted in the wilderness.[2]

Philoctetes was bitten by a water-snake. This is not necessarily inconsistent with the statement of Apollodorus that the accident happened while the Greeks were sacrificing to Apollo, for the feast mentioned by Proclus may have been sacrificial. According to another version of the story, which Sophocles followed in his *Philoctetes*, the accident to Philoctetes happened, not in Tenedos, but in the small island of Chryse, where a goddess of that name was worshipped, and the serpent which bit Philoctetes was the guardian of her shrine. See Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 263 270, 1326 1328. Later writers identified Chryse with Athena, and said that Philoctetes was stung while he was cleansing her altar or clearing it of the soil under which it was buried, as Tzetzes has it. See Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 722; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 911; Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* ii 724, p. 330. But this identification is not supported by Sophocles nor by the evidence of a vase painting, which represents the shrine of Chryse with her name attached to her image. See Jebb's

ES 28 | Ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Τενέδου[1] προσέπλεον Τροίᾳ, καὶ πέμπουσιν Ὀδυσσέα καὶ Μενέλαον τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀπαιτοῦντας.[2] συναθροισθείσης δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἐκκλησίας, οὐ μόνον τὴν Ἑλένην οὐκ ἀπεδίδουν ἀλλὰ καὶ τού-
29 τους κτείνειν ἤθελον. ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν[3] ἔσωσεν

[1] ἀπὸ τῆς Τενέδου. These words are wanting in S.
[2] ἀπαιτοῦντας E : αἰτοῦντες S.
[3] ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν E : τούτους μὲν οὖν S.

edition of Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, p. xxxviii. § 21 ; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, iii. 1326. fig. 1325. The island of Chryse is no doubt the "desert island near Lemnos" in which down to the first century B.C. were to be seen "an altar of Philoctetes, a bronze serpent, a bow, and a breastplate bound with fillets, the memorial of his sufferings" (Appian, *Mithridat.* 77). The island had sunk in the sea before the time of Pausanias in the second century of our era (Pausanias, viii. 33. 4). According to a different account, the unfortunate encounter of Philoctetes with the snake took place in Lemnos itself, the island where he was abandoned by his comrades. See Scholiast on Homer and Eustathius, *Il.cc.*; Scholiast on Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 270; Hyginus, *Fab.* 102. Philoctetes was commonly supposed to have received the bow and arrows of Hercules from that hero as a reward for his service in kindling the pyre on Mount Oeta. See Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 801–803; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 38. 4; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 724; Hyginus, *Fab.* 102; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 229–234. According to one account, which Servius has preserved, it was from these arrows, envenomed with the poison of the hydra, and not from a serpent, that Philoctetes received his grievous hurt. It is said that Hercules on the pyre solemnly charged his friend never to reveal the spot where his ashes should repose. Philoctetes promised with an oath to observe the wish of his dying friend, but afterwards he betrayed the secret by stamping with his foot on the grave. Hence on his way to the war one of the poisoned arrows fell upon and wounded the traitor foot. See Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 402; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 21, 132 (First Vatican

Putting to sea from Tenedos they made sail for Troy, and sent Ulysses and Menelaus to demand the restoration of Helen and the property. But the Trojans, having summoned an assembly, not only refused to restore Helen, but threatened to kill the envoys. These were, however, saved by Antenor;[1]

Mythographer, 59; Second Vatican Mythographer, 165). Homer speaks of Philoctetes marooned by the Greeks in Lemnos and suffering agonies from the bite of the deadly water-snake (*Il.* ii. 721–725), but he does not say how or where the sufferer was bitten. Sophocles represents Lemnos as a desert island (*Philoctetes*, 1 *sq.*). The fate of the forlorn hero, the ancient Robinson Crusoe, dwelling for ten years in utter solitude on his lonely isle, was a favourite theme of tragedy. Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides all composed plays on the subject under the title of *Philoctetes*. See Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lii; Jebb's Introduction to Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, pp. xiii. *sqq.*; *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 79 *sqq.*, 613 *sqq.*

[1] As to the embassy of Ulysses and Menelaus to Troy to demand the surrender of Helen, see Homer, *Il.* iii. 205 *sqq.*, xi. 138 *sqq.*; Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 19; Bacchylides, xiv. [xv.]; Herodotus, ii. 118; J. Tzetzes, *Antehomerica*, 154 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* iii. 206. According to the author of the epic *Cypria*, as reported by Proclus (*l.c.*), the embassy was sent before the first battle, in which Protesilaus fell (see below); according to Tzetzes, it was sent before the Greek army assembled at Aulis; according to the Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*), it was despatched from Tenedos. Herodotus says that the envoys were sent after the landing of the army in the Troad. Sophocles wrote a play on the subject of the embassy, called *The demand for the surrender of Helen*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 171 *sq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 121 *sqq.* Libanius has bequeathed to us two imaginary speeches, which are supposed to have been delivered by the Greek ambassadors, Menelaus and Ulysses, to the Trojan assembly before the opening of hostilities, while the Greek army was encamped within sight of the walls of Troy. See Libanius, *Declamationes*, iii. and iv. (vol. v. pp. 199 *sqq.*, ed. R. Foerster).

Ἀντήνωρ, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἀχθόμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων καταφρονήσει,[1] ἀναλαβόντες τὴν παροπλίαν ἔπλεον ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς. Ἀχιλλεῖ δὲ ἐπιστέλλει Θέτις πρῶτον[2] μὴ ἀποβῆναι τῶν νεῶν· τὸν γὰρ ἀποβάντα πρῶτον πρῶτον[3] μέλλειν τελευτήσειν.[4]
S | πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Βρύγες τὸν στόλον ἐπιπλεῖν,[5]
ES 30 σὺν ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὥρμησαν καὶ βάλλοντες πέτροις ἀποβῆναι ἐκώλυον. | τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων πρῶτος[6] ἀπέβη τῆς νεὼς[7] Πρωτεσίλαος, καὶ κτείνας οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν βαρβάρων[8]
ὑφ᾽ Ἕκτορος θνήσκει. τούτου <ἡ>[9] γυνὴ Λαοδάμεια καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἦρα, καὶ ποιήσασα εἴδωλον Πρωτεσιλάῳ παραπλήσιον τούτῳ προσω-
E μίλει. | Ἑρμῆς δὲ ἐλεησάντων θεῶν ἀνήγαγε Πρωτεσίλαον ἐξ Ἅιδου. Λαοδάμεια δὲ ἰδοῦσα

[1] ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων καταφρονήσει E : τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν καταφρόνησιν S.
[2] πρῶτον E : πρώτῳ S.
[3] πρῶτον πρῶτον E : πρῶτον S.
[4] τελευτήσειν E : καὶ τελευτᾶν S.
[5] ἐπιπλεῖν Bücheler : πλεῖν S.
[6] τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων πρῶτος S : πρῶτος τοίνυν E.
[7] νεὼς E : νηὸς S.
[8] οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν βαρβάρων E : οὐκ ὀλίγους S.
[9] ἡ inserted by Bücheler.

[1] Compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 698 *sq.*; Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 19; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 245; *id. Chiliades*, ii. 759 *sqq.*; *id. Antehomerica*, 221 *sqq.*; Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* ii. 701, p. 325, and on *Od.* xi. 521, p. 1697; Pausanias, iv. 2. 5; Hyginus, *Fab.* 103; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, ii. 11. The common tradition, followed by Apollodorus, was that Protesilaus fell by the hand of Hector; but according to others, his slayer was Aeneas, or Achates, or Euphorbus. See Eustathius, *ll. cc.*; J. Tzetzes, *Antehomerica*, 230 *sq.* The Greeks had received an oracle that the first of their number to leap from

but the Greeks, exasperated at the insolence of the barbarians, stood to arms and made sail against them. Now Thetis charged Achilles not to be the first to land from the ships, because the first to land would be the first to die. Being apprized of the hostile approach of the fleet, the barbarians marched in arms to the sea, and endeavoured by throwing stones to prevent the landing. Of the Greeks the first to land from his ship was Protesilaus, and having slain not a few of the barbarians, he fell by the hand of Hector.[1] His wife Laodamia loved him even after his death, and she made an image of him and consorted with it. The gods had pity on her, and Hermes brought up Protesilaus from Hades. On seeing him, Laodamia

the ships would be the first to perish. See Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 245; Hyginus, *Fab.* 113; Ovid, *Heroid.* xiii. 93 *sq.* Protesilaus was reckoned by Pausanias (i. 34. 2) among the men who after death received divine honours from the Greeks. He was buried in the Thracian Chersonese, opposite the Troad, and was there worshipped as a god (Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 532). His grave at Elaeus, or Eleus, in the peninsula was enclosed in a sacred precinct, and his worshippers testified their devotion by dedicating to him many vessels of gold and silver and bronze, together with raiment and other offerings; but when Xerxes invaded Greece, these treasures were carried off by the Persians, who desecrated the holy ground by sowing it with corn and turning cattle loose on it to graze (Herodotus, ix. 116). Tall elms grew within the sacred precinct and overshadowed the grave; and it is said that the leaves of the trees that looked across the narrow sea to Troy, where Protesilaus perished, burgeoned early but soon faded and fell, like the hero himself, while the trees that looked away from Troy still kept their foliage fresh and fair. See Philostratus, *Heroica*, iii 1. Others said that when the elms had shot up so high that Troy could be seen from them away across the water, the topmost boughs immediately withered. See Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vii. 408 *sqq.*; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 238.

καὶ νομίσασα αὐτὸν ἐκ Τροίας παρεῖναι τότε μὲν ἐχάρη, πάλιν δὲ ἐπαναχθέντος εἰς Ἅιδου ἑαυτὴν ἐφόνευσεν.

S 31 | Πρωτεσιλάου δὲ τελευτήσαντος, ἐκβαίνει μετὰ Μυρμιδόνων Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ λίθον <βα>λὼν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν Κύκνου κτείνει. ὡς δὲ τοῦτον νεκρὸν εἶδον οἱ βάρβαροι, φεύγουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐκπηδήσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἐνέπλησαν σωμάτων τὸ πεδίον. καὶ κατακλείσαντες[1] τοὺς
32 Τρῶας ἐπολιόρκουν· ἀνέλκουσι δὲ τὰς ναῦς. μὴ θαρρούντων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων, Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐνδρεύσας Τρωίλον ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θυμβραίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ φονεύει, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν

[1] κατακλείσαντες Bücheler : καταλείσαντες S.

[1] According to the author of the epic *Cypria* the name of Protesilaus's wife was Polydora, daughter of Meleager (Pausanias, iv. 2. 7). Later writers, like Apollodorus, called her Laodamia. As to her tragic tale, see Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* xxviii. (who does not name her ; Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* ii. 701, p. 325 ; Scholiast on Aristides, vol. iii. pp. 671 *sq.*, ed. Dindorf ; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 763 *sqq.* ; Propertius, i. 19. 7–10 ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 103, 104 ; Ovid, *Heroid.* xiii. ; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 447 ; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 51, 147 (First Vatican Mythographer, 158 ; Second Vatican Mythographer, 215). According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 103), Laodamia had prayed that Protesilaus might be restored to her for only three hours ; her prayer was granted, but she could not bear the grief of parting with him, and died in his arms (Servius, *l.c.*). A rationalistic version of the story ran that Laodamia had made a waxen image of her dead husband and secretly embraced it, till her father ordered it to be burned, when she threw herself into the fire and perished with the image (Hyginus, *Fab.* 104). According to Ovid, Laodamia made the waxen image of her absent lord and fondled it even in his lifetime. Her sad story was the theme of a tragedy of Euripides (*Tragicorum Graecorum*

thought it was himself returned from Troy, and she was glad; but when he was carried back to Hades, she stabbed herself to death.[1]

On the death of Protesilaus, Achilles landed with the Myrmidons, and throwing a stone at the head of Cycnus, killed him.[2] When the barbarians saw him dead, they fled to the city, and the Greeks, leaping from their ships, filled the plain with bodies. And having shut up the Trojans, they besieged them; and they drew up the ships. The barbarians showing no courage, Achilles waylaid Troilus and slaughtered him in the sanctuary of Thymbraean Apollo,[3] and coming

Fragmenta, ed. Nauck², pp. 563 *sqq.*), as it is of a well-known poem of Wordsworth (*Laodameia*).

[2] Compare Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 19; Pindar, *Olymp.* ii. 82 (147); Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 22, p. 1396 b 16–18, ed. Bekker; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, iv. 468 *sqq.*; J. Tzetzes, *Antehomerica*, 257 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Theocritus, xvi. 49; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 70–140; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, ii. 12. Cycnus was said to be invulnerable (Aristotle, *l.c.*): hence neither the spear nor the sword of Achilles could make any impression on his body, and the hero was reduced to the necessity of throttling him with the thongs of his own helmet. So Ovid tells the tale, adding that the sea-god, his father Poseidon, changed the dead Cycnus into a swan, whose name (Cygnus, κύκνος) he had borne in life.

[3] Compare Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 20; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 257 (where for ὀχευθῆναι it has been proposed to read λοχηθῆναι or λογχευθῆναι); Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 251, p. 1348; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xi. vol. i. p. 189, ed. L. Dindorf; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 307. 313; Virgil, *Aen.* i. 474 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 474; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 66 (First Vatican Mythographer, 210). Troilus is represented as a youth, but the stories concerning his death are various. According to Eustathius, the lad was exercising his horses in

Λυκάονα λαμβάνει. παραλαβὼν δὲ Ἀχιλλεύς τινας τῶν ἀριστέων τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει, καὶ παραγίνεται εἰς Ἴδην ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰνείου [τοῦ Πριάμου][1] βόας. φυγόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, τοὺς βουκόλους κτείνας καὶ Μήστορα[2] τὸν Πριάμου τὰς βόας ἐλαύνει.
33 αἱρεῖ δὲ καὶ Λέσβον καὶ Φώκαιαν,[3] εἶτα Κολοφῶνα καὶ Σμύρναν καὶ Κλαζομενὰς καὶ Κύμην, μεθ' ἃς Αἰγιαλὸν καὶ Τῆνον,[4] [τὰς ἑκατὸν καλουμένας πόλεις]· εἶτα ἑξῆς Ἀδραμύττιον καὶ Σίδην,[5] εἶτα Ἔρδιον καὶ Λιναῖον[6] καὶ Κολώνην.[7] αἱρεῖ δὲ καὶ Θήβας τὰς Ὑποπλακίας[8] καὶ Λυρνησσόν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ <Ἄντ>ανδρον[9] καὶ ἄλλας πολλάς.
34 Ἐνναετοῦς δὲ χρόνου διελθόντος παραγίνονται τοῖς Τρωσὶ σύμμαχοι· ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων πόλεων

[1] τοῦ Πριάμου S : καὶ Πριάμου Wagner.

[2] καὶ Μήστορα Kerameus : καμήστορα S.

[3] Φώκαιαν Kerameus : φωκέας S.

[4] Τῆνον S. Kerameus conjectured Τῶιον : Wagner proposed Τίειον.

[5] Σίδην S. Kerameus conjectured Ἴδην or Σιδήνην : Wagner proposed Σιγήν, comparing Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Σίγη, πόλις Τρωάδος, ὡς Ἑκαταῖος Ἀσίᾳ.

[6] Λιναῖον S. Kerameus conjectured Κίλλαιον : Wagner proposed Λαΐαν, comparing Strabo, xiii i 45, p. 603, where, however, Meineke reads Νέας for Αἰνέας.

[7] Κολώνην S. Kerameus conjectured Καλλικολώνην ; but Wagner compares Diodorus Siculus, v. 83. 1, Κολώνης τῆς ἐν τῇ Τ, *edd.*, and Strabo, x ii. i. 46, p. 604, βασιλέα δὲ Κολωνῶν.

[8] Ὑποπλακίας Kerameus : ὑπὸ πλακείας S.

[9] <Ἄντ>ανδρον Kerameus : ἄνδρον S.

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the Thymbraeum or sanctuary of the Thymbraean Apollo, when Achilles killed him with his spear. Tzetzes says that he was a son of Hecuba by Apollo, though nominally by Priam, that he fled from his assailant to the temple of Apollo, and was cut down by Achilles at the altar. There was a prophecy that Troy could not be taken if Troilus should live to the age of twenty (so the First Vatican Mythographer).

by night to the city he captured Lycaon.[1] Moreover, taking some of the chiefs with him, Achilles laid waste the country, and made his way to Ida to lift the kine of Aeneas. But Aeneas fled, and Achilles killed the neatherds and Mestor, son of Priam, and drove away the kine.[2] He also took Lesbos[3] and Phocaea, then Colophon, and Smyrna, and Clazomenae, and Cyme; and afterwards Aegialus and Tenos, the so called Hundred Cities; then, in order, Adramytium and Side; then Endium, and Linacum, and Colone. He took also Hypoplacian Thebes[4] and Lyrnessus,[5] and further Antandrus, and many other cities.

A period of nine years having elapsed, allies came to join the Trojans:[6] from the surrounding cities,

This may have been the motive of Achilles for slaying the lad. According to Dictys Cretensis (*Bellum Trojanum*, iv. 9), Troilus was taken prisoner and publicly slaughtered in cold blood by order of Achilles. The indefatigable Sophocles, as usual, wrote a tragedy on the subject. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 253 *sqq.*

[1] Compare Homer, *Il.* xxi. 34 *sqq.*, xxiii 746 *sq.* Lycaon was captured by Achilles when he was cutting sticks in the orchard of his father Priam. After being sold by his captor into slavery in Lemnos he was ransomed and returned to Troy, but meeting Achilles in battle a few days later, he was ruthlessly slain by him. The story seems to have been told also in the epic *Cypria*. See Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 20.

[2] Compare Homer, *Il.* xx. 90 *sqq.*, 188 *sqq.*; Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 20.

[3] Compare Homer, *Il.* ix. 129; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, ii. 16.

[4] Compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 691, vi. 397.

[5] It was at the sack of Lyrnessus that Achilles captured his concubine Briseis after slaying her husband. See Homer, *Il.* ii. 688 *sqq.*, xix. 60, 291 *sqq.*, xx. 92, 191 *sqq.* Compare Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, ii. 17.

[6] With the following list of the Trojans and their allies, compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 816–877.

Αἰνείας Ἀγχίσου καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἀρχέλοχος[1] καὶ Ἀκάμας Ἀντήνορος[2] καὶ Θεανοῦς, Δαρδανίων ἡγούμενοι, Θρᾳκῶν Ἀκάμας Εὐσώρου, Κικόνων Εὔφημος Τροιζήνου,[3] Παιόνων Πυραίχμης,[4] Παφλαγόνων Πυλαιμένης Βιλσάτου,[5] ἐκ Ζελίας Πάνδαρος Λυκάονος, ἐξ Ἀδραστείας Ἄδραστος[6] καὶ Ἄμφιος Μέροπος,[7] ἐκ δ' Ἀπίσβης Ἄσιος Ὑρτάκου, ἐκ Λαρίσσης Ἱππόθοος Πελασγοῦ,[8] ἐκ Μυσίας Χρόμιος καὶ Ἔννομος[9] Ἀρσινόου, Ἀλιζώνων Ὄφελτις[10] καὶ Ἐπίστροφος Μηκιστέως,[11] Φρυγῶν Φόρκυς καὶ Ἀσκάνιος Ἀρετάονος, Μαιόνων Μέσθλης καὶ Ἄντιφος Ταλαιμένους, Καρῶν[12] Νάστης καὶ Ἀμφίμαχος Νομίονος,[13] Λυκίων Σαρπηδὼν Διὸς καὶ Γλαῦκος[14] Ἱππολόχου.

IV. Ἀχιλλεὺς δὲ μηνίων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἐξῆει διὰ Βρισηίδα . . . τῆς θυγατρὸς Χρύσου τοῦ ἱερέως. διὸ θαρσήσαντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐκ τῆς

[1] Ἀρχέλοχος Wagner (comparing Homer, *Il.* ii. 823): ἀρχέλαος S.

[2] Ἀντήνορος Kerameus (compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 822 *sq*): Αὐτήνορος S.

[3] Τροιζήνου Wagner (comparing Homer, *Il.* ii. 847): Τροιζῆνος S.

[4] Πυραίχμης Kerameus (compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 848): πυραιχάγης S.

[5] Βιλσάτου S. Wagner conjectures Βισάλτου.

[6] Ἄδραστος Kerameus (compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 830): ἄδρας S.

[7] Μέροπος Kerameus (compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 831): Μερόπης S.

[8] Ἱππόθοος Πελασγοῦ S. Compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 842 *sq.*: Ἱππόθοός τε Πύλαιός τ', ὄζος Ἄσιος, ‖ υἷε δύω Λήθοιο Πελασγοῦ Τευταμίδαο, which Apollodorus has misunderstood. See the exegetical note.

[9] Ἔννομος Kerameus (compare Homer, *Il* ii. 858): ἐννόμιος S.

Aeneas, son of Anchises, and with him Archelochus and Acamas, sons of Antenor, and Theano,[9] leaders of the Dardanians; of the Thracians, Acamas, son of Eusorus; of the Cicones, Euphemus, son of Troezenus; of the Paeonians, Pyraechmes; of the Paphlagonians, Pylaemenes, son of Bilsates; from Zelia, Pandarus, son of Lycaon; from Adrastia, Adrastus and Amphius, sons of Merops; from Arisbe, Asius, son of Hyrtacus; from Larissa, Hippothous, son of Pelasgus;[1] from Mysia, Chromius[2] and Ennomus, sons of Arsinous; of the Alizones, Odius and Epistrophus, sons of Mecisteus; of the Phrygians, Phorcys and Ascanius, sons of Aretaon; of the Maeonians, Mesthles and Antiphus, sons of Talaemenes; of the Carians, Nastes and Amphimachus, sons of Nomion; of the Lycians, Sarpedon, son of Zeus, and Glaucus, son of Hippolochus.

IV. Achilles did not go forth to the war, because he was angry on account of Briseis, the daughter of Chryses the priest.[3] Therefore the barbarians

[1] Compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 842 *sq.*, where the poet describes Hippothous as the son of the Pelasgian Lethus. Apollodorus, misunderstanding the passage, has converted the adjective Pelasgian into a noun Pelasgus.

[2] Homer calls him Chromis (*Il.* ii. 858).

[3] Compare Homer, *Il.* i. 1 *sqq.* From this point Apollodorus follows the incidents of the Trojan war as related by Homer.

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[9] Ἀλιζώνων Ὀδίος Krameus (compare Homer, *Il* ii. 856): ἀλιζόνων ὁ δῖος S.

[11] Μηκιστέως Krameus: μηκιστεύς S.

[12] Ἄντιφος Ταλαιμένους, Καρῶν Krameus (compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 864–867): Ἄντυφος Πυλαιμένου, σκάρων S.

[13] Ἀμφίμαχος Νομίονος Krameus (compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 870 *sq.*): ἀμφίναχος νομίωνος S.

[14] Γλαῦκος Krameus: γλαῦχος S.

πόλεως προῆλθον. καὶ μονομαχεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρος πρὸς Μενέλαον, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ἡττώμενον ἁρπάζει Ἀφροδίτη. Πάνδαρος δὲ τοξεύσας Μενέλαον τοὺς ὅρκους ἔλυσεν.

E 2 | Ὅτι Διομήδης ἀριστεύων Ἀφροδίτην Αἰνεία βοηθοῦσαν τιτρώσκει, καὶ Γλαύκῳ συστὰς, ὑπομνησθεὶς πατρῴας φιλίας, ἀλλάσσει τὰ ὅπλα.

ES πρόκλοι μένου δὲ[1] Ἕκτορος τοι ἄριστον εἰς μονομαχίαν, πολλῶν ἐλθόντων[2] Αἴας κληρωσάμενος ἀριστεύει[3] νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης κήρυκες διαλύουσιν αὐτούς.

S 3 | Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες πρὸς τοῦ ναυσταθμοῦ τείχος ποιοῦνται καὶ τάφρον, καὶ γενομένης μάχης ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ οἱ Τρῶες τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς τὸ τεῖχος διώκουσιν· οἱ δὲ πέμπουσι πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα πρέσβεις Ὀδυσσέα καὶ Φοίνικα καὶ Αἴαντα, συμμαχεῖν ἀξιοῦντες καὶ Βρισηίδα καὶ ἄλλα δῶρα ὑπισχνούμενοι. νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης κατασκόπους πέμπουσιν Ὀδυσσέα καὶ Διομήδην· οἱ δὲ ἀναιροῦσι Δόλωνα τὸν Εὐμήλου καὶ Ῥῆσον τὸν Θρᾷκα (ὃς πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας παραγενόμενος Τρωσὶ σύμμαχος οὐ συμβαλὼν ἀπωτέρω[4] τῆς Τρωικῆς δυνάμεως χωρὶς Ἕκτορος ἐστρατοπέδευσε· τοὺς τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἑνδέκα κοιμωμένους κτείνουσι καὶ τοὺς

[1] προκαλουμένου δὲ E : προκαλουμένου S.
[2] ἐλθόντων. We should perhaps read θελόντων.
[3] ἀριστεύει Fraser (compare a few lines above Διομήδης ἀριστεύων, and τὸν ἄριστον; below, iv 7, Αἴας ἀριστεύσας, v. 12, τοῦτο ἀριστεύσαντα) : πυκτεύει ES, Wagner : πρωτεύει Herwerden (*Mnemosyne*, N.S. xx. (1892), p. 199).
[4] ἀπωτέρω Kerameus : ἀποτέρω S.

[1] Compare Homer, *Il.* iii. 15–382.
[2] Compare Homer, *Il.* iv. 85 *sqq.*

took heart of grace and sallied out of the city. And Alexander fought a single combat with Menelaus; and when Alexander got the worst of it, Aphrodite carried him off.[1] And Pandarus, by shooting an arrow at Menelaus, broke the truce.[2]

Diomedes, doing doughty deeds, wounded Aphrodite when she came to the help of Aeneas;[3] and encountering Glaucus, he recalled the friendship of their fathers and exchanged arms.[4] And Hector having challenged the bravest to single combat, many came forward, but the lot fell on Ajax, and he did doughty deeds; but night coming on, the heralds parted them.[5]

The Greeks made a wall and a ditch to protect the roadstead,[6] and a battle taking place in the plain, the Trojans chased the Greeks within the wall.[7] But the Greeks sent Ulysses, Phoenix, and Ajax as ambassadors to Achilles, begging him to fight for them, and promising Briseis and other gifts.[8] And night coming on, they sent Ulysses and Diomedes as spies; and these killed Dolon, son of Eumelus, and Rhesus, the Thracian (who had arrived the day before as an ally of the Trojans, and having not yet engaged in the battle was encamped at some distance from the Trojan force and apart from Hector); they also slew the twelve men that were sleeping around him, and

[3] Compare Homer, *Il.* v. 1–417.
[4] Compare Homer, *Il.* vi. 119–236.
[5] Compare Homer, *Il.* vii. 66–312.
[6] Compare Homer, *Il.* vii. 436–441.
[7] Compare Homer, *Il.* viii. 53–565.
[8] The embassy of Ulysses, Phoenix, and Ajax to Achilles is the subject of the ninth book of the *Iliad*. Libanius composed an imaginary reply to the speech of Ulysses (*Declam.* v., vol. v. pp. 303–360, ed. R. Foerster).

ἵππους ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἄγουσι. μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ ἰσχυρᾶς μάχης γενομένης, τρωθέντων Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ Διομήδους Ὀδυσσέως Εὐρυπύλου Μαχάονος καὶ τι ὀπῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γενομένης, Ἕκτωρ ῥήξας τὸ τεῖχος εἰσέρχεται καὶ ἀναχωρήσαντος Αἴαντος πῦρ ἐμβάλλει ταῖς ναυσίν.

6 Ὡς δὲ εἶδεν Ἀχιλλεὺς τὴν Πρωτεσιλάου ναῦν καιομένην, ἐκπέμπει Πάτροκλον καθοπλίσας τοῖς ἰδίοις ὅπλοις μετὰ τῶν Μυρμιδόνων, δοὺς αὐτῷ τοὺς ἵππους. ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Τρῶες καὶ νομίσαντες Ἀχιλλέα εἶναι εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται. καταδιώξας δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ τεῖχος πολλοὺς ἀναιρεῖ, ἐν οἷς καὶ Σαρπηδόνα τὸν Διός, καὶ ὑφ' Ἕκτορος ἀναιρεῖται, τρωθεὶς πρότερον ὑπὸ Εὐφόρ-
7 βου. μάχης δὲ ἰσχυρᾶς γενομένης περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ, μόλις Αἴας ἀριστεύσας σώζει τὸ σῶμα. Ἀχιλλεὺς δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν ἀποθέμενος καὶ τὴν Βρισηίδα κομίζεται. καὶ πανοπλίας αὐτῷ κομισθείσης παρὰ Ἡφαίστου, καθοπλισάμενος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέρχεται, καὶ συνδιώκει τοὺς Τρῶας ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον, κἀκεῖ πολλοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀναιρεῖ, κτείνει δὲ καὶ Ἀστεροπαῖον τὸν Πηλεγόνος[1] τοῦ Ἀξιοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ αὐτῷ λάβρος ὁ ποταμὸς ἐφορμᾷ. καὶ τούτου μὲν ὁ Ἥφαιστος τὰ ῥεῖθρα ἀναξηραίνει πολλῇ φλογὶ διώξας, ὁ δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς Ἕκτορα ἐκ

[1] Πηλεγόνος Kerameus : τηλεγόνου S.

[1] These events are narrated in the tenth book of the *Iliad*. They form the subject of Euripides's tragedy *Rhesus*, the only extant Greek drama of which the plot is derived from the action of the *Iliad*.

[2] These events are told in the eleventh book of the *Iliad*

[3] Compare Homer, *Il.* xii. 436 *sqq.*

drove the horses to the ships.[1] But by day a fierce fight took place; Agamemnon and Diomedes, Ulysses, Eurypylus, and Machaon were wounded, the Greeks were put to flight,[2] Hector made a breach in the wall and entered[3] and, Ajax having retreated, he set fire to the ships.[4]

But when Achilles saw the ship of Protesilaus burning, he sent out Patroclus with the Myrmidons, after arming him with his own arms and giving him the horses. Seeing him the Trojans thought that he was Achilles and turned to flee. And having chased them within the wall, he killed many, amongst them Sarpedon, son of Zeus, and was himself killed by Hector, after being first wounded by Euphorbus.[5] And a fierce fight taking place for the corpse, Ajax with difficulty, by performing feats of valour, rescued the body.[6] And Achilles laid aside his anger and recovered Briseis. And a suit of armour having been brought him from Hephaestus, he donned the armour[7] and went forth to the war, and chased the Trojans in a crowd to the Scamander, and there killed many, and amongst them Asteropaeus, son of Pelegon, son of the river Axius; and the river rushed at him in fury. But Hephaestus dried up the streams of the river, after chasing them with a mighty flame.[8] And Achilles

[4] Compare Homer, *Il.* xv. 716 *sqq.*

[5] These events are narrated in the sixteenth book of the *Iliad.*

[6] These events are the subject of the seventeenth book of the *Iliad.*

[7] These events are narrated in the eighteenth and nineteenth books of the *Iliad.*

[8] These events are related in the twentieth and twenty-first books of the *Iliad.* As to the slaying of Asteropaeus by Achilles, see *Il.* xxi. 139–204. As to the combat of Achilles with the river Scamander, and the drying up of the streams

μονομαχίας ἀναιρεῖ καὶ ἐξάψας αὐτοῦ τὰ σφυρὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἅρματος σύρων ἐπὶ τας ναῦς παραγίνεται. καὶ θάψας Πάτροκλον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀγῶνα τίθησιν, ἐν ᾧ νικᾷ ἵπποις Διομήδης, Ἐπειὸς πυγμῇ, Αἴας καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς πάλῃ. μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα παραγενόμενος Πρίαμος πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα λυτροῦται τὸ Ἕκτορος σῶμα καὶ θάπτει.

E V. Ὅτι Πενθεσίλεια, Ὀτρηρῆς καὶ Ἄρεος, ἀκουσίως Ἱππολύτην κτείνασα καὶ ὑπὸ Πριάμου καθαρθεῖσα, μάχης γενομένης πολλοὺς κτείνει, ἐν οἷς καὶ Μαχάονα· εἶθ' ὕστερον θνήσκει ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως,[1] ὅστις μετὰ θάνατον ἐρασθεὶς τῆς Ἀμαζόνος κτείνει Θερσίτην λοιδοροῦντα αὐτόν.

[1] This and the following paragraph are from E. The death of Penthesilia seems also to have been told in S, but the passage is incomplete. It runs thus: καὶ μάχης γενομένης πολλοὺς κτείνει, θνήσκει δ' ὁ τρηρὸς ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως, where for the corrupt δ' ὁ τρηρὸς we should perhaps, following E, read δὲ ὕστερον. Bücheler thought that in ὁ τρηρὸς there lurks Ὀτρήρη, the name of Penthesilia's mother. Perhaps the whole passage in S originally ran thus: καὶ μάχης γενομένης Πενθεσίλεια, Ὀτρηρῆς καὶ Ἄρεως, πολλοὺς κτείνει, θνήσκει δ' ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως, "and a battle taking place, Penthesilia, daughter of Otrere and Ares, slays many and is afterwards slain by Achilles." Wagner prints in the text θνήσκει δ' Ὀτρηρῆς ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως, apparently taking Ὀτρηρῆς for the name of a man.

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of the river by the fire god Hephaestus, see *Il.* xxi. 211-382. The whole passage affords a striking example of the way in which the Greeks conceived rivers as personal beings, endowed with human shape, human voice, and human passions. Incidentally (*vv.* 130-132) we hear of sacrifices of bulls and horses to a river, the horses being thrown alive into the stream.

[1] The combat of Achilles with Hector, and the death of Hector, form the subject of the twenty second book of the *Iliad*.

slew Hector in single combat, and fastening his ankles to his chariot dragged him to the ships.[1] And having buried Patroclus, he celebrated games in his honour, at which Diomedes was victorious in the chariot race, Epeus in boxing, and Ajax and Ulysses in wrestling.[2] And after the games Priam came to Achilles and ransomed the body of Hector, and buried it.[3]

V. Penthesilia, daughter of Otrere and Ares, accidentally killed Hippolyte and was purified by Priam. In battle she slew many, and amongst them Machaon, and was afterwards herself killed by Achilles, who fell in love with the Amazon after her death and slew Thersites for jeering at him.[4]

[2] The burial of Patroclus and the funeral games celebrated in his honour, are described in the twenty-third book of the *Iliad*.

[3] These events are narrated in the twenty-fourth book of the *Iliad*.

[4] These events were narrated in the *Aethiopis* of Arctinus, as we learn from the summary of that poem drawn up by Proclus. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 33. Compare Diodorus Siculus, ii. 46. 5; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, i. 18 *sqq.*, 227 *sqq.*, 538 *sqq* ; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 6 *sqq.*, 100 *sqq.*, 136 *sqq.* ; *id. Schol. on Lycophron*, 999 ; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, iv. 2 *sq.* Quintus Smyrnaeus explains more fully than Apollodorus the reason why Penthesilia came to Troy (*Posthomerica*, i. 18 *sqq.*). Aiming at a deer in the chase, she had accidentally killed her sister Hippolyte with her spear, and, haunted by the Furies of the slain woman, she came to Troy to be purified from her guilt. The same story is told more briefly by Diodorus Siculus. According to Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 999), Thersites excited the wrath of Achilles, not only by his foul accusations, but by gouging out the eyes of the beautiful Amazon. In the *Aethiopis* it was related how, after killing the base churl, Achilles sailed to Lesbos and was there purified from the guilt of murder by Ulysses, but not until he had offered sacrifice to Apollo, Artemis, and Latona. See Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*,

2 Ἡν δὲ Ἱππολύτη ἡ τοῦ Ἱππολύτου μήτηρ, ἡ καὶ Γλαύκη καὶ Μελανίππη. αὕτη γήρ,[1] ἐπιτελουμένων τῶν γάμων Φαίδρας, ἐπιστᾶσα σὺν ὅπλοις ἅμα ταῖς μεθ' ἑαυτῆς Ἀμαζόσιν ἔλεγε κτείνειν τοὺς συνανακειμένους Θησεῖ. μάχης οὖν γενομένης ἀπέθανεν, εἴτε ὑπὸ τῆς συμμάχου Πενθεσιλείας ἀκούσης, εἴτε ὑπὸ Θησέως, εἴτε ὅτι οἱ περὶ Θησέα, τὴν τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ἐωρακότες ἐπιστασίαν, κλείσαντες διὰ τάχους τὰς θύρας καὶ ταύτην ἀπολαβόντες ἐντὸς ἀπέκτειναν.

ES 3 |Ὅτι Μέμνονα[2] τὸν Τιθωνοῦ καὶ Ἠοῦς μετὰ πολλῆς Αἰθιόπων δυνάμεως παραγενόμενον ἐν Τροίᾳ καθ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κτείναντα καὶ Ἀντίλοχον κτείνει ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς. διώξας δὲ καὶ τοὺς[3] Τρῶας πρὸς ταῖς Σκαιαῖς

[1] With what follows compare *Epitome*, i. 17, which is from S, while the present passage is from E.

[2] Ὅτι Μεμνονα . . . κτείνει ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς E: Μέμνων δὲ ὁ Τιθωνοῦ καὶ Ἠοῦς πολλὴν Αἰθιόπων δυναμιν ἀθροίσας παραγίνεται καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀναιρεῖ, κτείνει καὶ Ἀντίλοχον καὶ αὐτὸς θνήσκει ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως S. [3] δὲ καὶ τοὺς E: δὲ τοὺς S.

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p. 33. The mother of Penthesilia is named Otrere (Otrera) by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 997) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 112), in agreement with Apollodorus. Machaon is usually said to have been killed by Eurypylus, and not, as Apollodorus says, by Penthesilia. See Pausanias, iii. 26. 9; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vi. 390 *sqq.*; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 520 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 113. From Pausanias (*l.c.*) we learn that Eurypylus, not Penthesilia, was represented as the slayer in the *Little Iliad* of Lesches.

[1] See above, *Epitome*, i. 17. The two passages are practically duplicates of each other. The former occurs in the Sabbaitic, the latter in the Vatican *Epitome* of Apollodorus. The author of the one compendium preferred to relate the incident in the history of Theseus, the other in the history of Troy.

Hippolyte was the mother of Hippolytus; she also goes by the names of Glauce and Melanippe. For when the marriage of Phaedra was being celebrated, Hippolyte appeared in arms with her Amazons, and said that she would slay the guests of Theseus. So a battle took place, and she was killed, whether involuntarily by her ally Penthesilia, or by Theseus, or because his men, seeing the threatening attitude of the Amazons, hastily closed the doors and so intercepted and slew her.[1]

Memnon, the son of Tithonus and the Dawn, came with a great force of Ethiopians to Troy against the Greeks, and having slain many of the Greeks, including Antilochus, he was himself slain by Achilles.[2] Having chased the Trojans also, Achilles

[2] These events were narrated in the *Aethiopis* of Arctinus, as we learn from the summary of Proclus. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 33. Compare Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, ii. 160 *sqq.*, 235 *sqq.*, 452 *sqq.*; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 234 *sqq.*; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, iv. 6. The fight between Memnon and Achilles was represented on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae, and on the chest of Cypselus at Olympia (Pausanias, iii. 18. 12, v. 19. 1). It was also the subject of a group of statuary, which was set up beside the Hippodamium at Olympia (Pausanias, v. 22. 2). Some fragments of the pedestal which supported the group have been discovered: one of them bears the name MEMNON inscribed in archaic letters. See *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 662; and my commentary on Pausanias, vol. iii. pp. 629 *sq.* Aeschylus wrote a tragedy on the subject called *Psychostasia*, in which he described Zeus weighing the souls of the rival heroes in scales. See Plutarch, *De audiendis poetis*, 2; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* viii. 70; *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck[2], pp. 88 *sq.* A play of Sophocles, called *The Ethiopians*, probably dealt with the same theme. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 22 *sqq.* The slaying of Antilochus by Memnon is mentioned by Homer (*Od.* iv. 187 *sq.*).

πύλαις τοξεύεται[1] ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Ἀπόλ-
4 λωνος εἰς τὸ σφυρόν. γενομένης δὲ μάχης περὶ
τοῦ νεκροῦ,[2] Αἴας Γλαῦκον ἀναιρεῖ, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα
δίδωσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς κομίζειν, τὸ δὲ σῶμα βαστά-
σας Αἴας βαλλόμενος βέλεσι μέσον τῶν πολεμίων
διήνεγκεν. Ὀδυσσέως πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους
S 5 μαχομένου. | Ἀχιλλέως δὲ ἀποθανόντος συμφορᾶς

[1] τοξεύεται E : ἐτοξεύθη S.
[2] μαχης περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ E : περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ μάχης S.

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[1] The death of Achilles was similarly related in the *Aethiopis* of Arctinus. See Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 33 *sq.* Compare Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, iii. 26-387; Hyginus, *Fab.* 107. All these writers agree with Apollodorus in saying that the fatal wound was inflicted on the heel of Achilles. The story ran that at his birth his mother Thetis made Achilles invulnerable by dipping him in the water of Styx; but his heel, by which she held him, was not wetted by the water and so remained vulnerable. See Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 57; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Achill.* i. 134; *id. Narrat. fabul.* xii. 6; Fulgentius, *Mytholog.* iii. 7. Tradition varied as to the agent of Achilles's death. Some writers, like Arctinus and Apollodorus, say that the hero was killed by Apollo and Paris jointly. Thus in Homer (*Il.* xxii. 359 *sq.*) the dying Hector prophesies that Achilles will be slain by Paris and Apollo at the Scaean gate; and the same prophecy is put by Homer more darkly into the mouth of the talking horse Xanthus, who, like Balaam's ass, warns his master of the danger that besets his path (*Il.* xix. 404 *sqq.*). According to Virgil and Ovid, it was the hand of Paris that discharged the fatal arrow, but the hand of Apollo that directed it to the mark. See Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 56-58; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 597-609. According to Hyginus, it was Apollo in the guise of Paris who transfixed the mortal heel of Achilles with an arrow (*Fab.* 107). But in one passage (*Il.* xxi. 277 *sq.*) Homer speaks of the death of Achilles as wrought by the shafts of Apollo alone; and this version was followed by

was shot with an arrow in the ankle by Alexander and Apollo at the Scaean gate. A fight taking place for the corpse, Ajax killed Glaucus, and gave the arms to be conveyed to the ships, but the body he carried, in a shower of darts, through the midst of the enemy, while Ulysses fought his assailants.[1] The death

Quintus Smyrnaeus (iii. 60 *sqq.*) and apparently by Aeschylus, Sophocles and Horace. See Plato, *Republic*, ii. 21, p. 383 A B; Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 334 *sq*; Horace, *Odes*, iv. 6. 1 *sqq.* Other writers, on the contrary, speak of Paris alone as the slayer of Achilles. See Euripides, *Andromache*, 655; *id. Hecuba*, 387 *sq.*; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* ix. 13. 2; *id. Comparison of Lysander and Sulla*, 4. A very different version of the story connected the death of Achilles with a romantic passion he had conceived for Polyxena, daughter of Priam. It is said that Priam offered her hand in marriage to Achilles on condition that the siege of Troy was raised. In the negotiations which were carried on for this purpose Achilles went alone and unarmed to the temple of Thymbraean Apollo and was there treacherously assassinated, Deiphobus clasping him to his breast in a pretended embrace of friendship while Paris stabbed him with a sword. See J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 385–423; Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 16 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 110; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, iv. 10 *sq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen* vi 57; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Achill.* i. 134; Dares Phrygius, *De excidio Trojae*, 34; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 13, 143 (First Vatican Mythographer, 36; Second Vatican Mythographer, 205). Of these writers, the Second Vatican Mythographer tells us that Achilles first saw Polyxena, Hector's sister, when she stood on a tower in the act of throwing down bracelets and earrings with which to ransom Hector's body, and that when Achilles came to the temple of the Thymbraean Apollo to ratify the treaty of marriage and peace, Paris lurked behind the image of the god and shot the confiding hero with an arrow. This seems to be the account of the death which Servius and Lactantius Placidus (*ll.cc.*) followed in their briefer narrative. Compare Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, p. 382, No. 62.

ES ἐπληρώθη τὸ στράτευμα. | θάπτουσι δὲ αὐτὸν[1] [ἐν Λευκῇ νήσῳ][2] μετὰ Πατρόκλου, τὰ ἑκατέρων ὀστᾶ συμμίξαντες. λέγεται δὲ[3] μετὰ θάνατον Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν Μακάρων νήσοις Μηδείᾳ συνοικεῖν.[4]

S | τιθέασι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ νικᾷ Εὔμηλος ἵπποις, Διομήδης σταδίῳ, Αἴας δίσκῳ, Τεῦκρος

ES 6 τόξῳ. | ἡ δὲ πανοπλία αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀρίστῳ νικητή-

[1] θάπτουσι δὲ αὐτὸν S: Ὀπ. θάπτουσι τὸν Ἀχιλλέα E.

[2] ἐν Λευκῇ νήσῳ . . . συμμίξαντες E: τοῖς Πατρόκλου μίξασι ὀστοῖς ἐν Λευκῃ νησῳ S.

[3] λέγεται δὲ E: καὶ λέγεται S.

[4] Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐν Μακάρων νήσοις Μηδείᾳ συνοικεῖν E: ἐν Μακάρων νήσοις αὐτῷ Μήδειαν συνοικεῖν S.

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[1] According to Arctinus in the *Aethiopis*, when the body of Achilles was lying in state, his mother Thetis came with the Muses and her sisters and mourned over her dead son; then she snatched it away from the pyre and conveyed it to the White Isle; but the Greeks raised a sepulchral mound and held games in honour of the departed hero. See Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 34. Compare Homer, *Od.* xxiv. 43-92; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, iii. 525-787 (the laying out of the body, the lamentation of Thetis, the Nereids, and the Muses, and the burning of the corpse); J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 431-467; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, iv. 13 and 15. Homer tells how the bones of Achilles, after his body had been burnt on the pyre, were laid with the bones of his friend Patroclus in a golden urn, made by Hephaestus, which Thetis had received from Dionysus. The urn was buried at the headland of Sigeum, according to Tzetzes and Dictys Cretensis. In Quintus Smyrnaeus (iii. 766-780) we read how Poseidon comforted Thetis by assuring her that Achilles, her sorrow, was not dead, for he himself would bestow on the departed hero an island in the Euxine Sea where he should be a god for evermore, worshipped with sacrifices by the neighbouring tribes. The promised land was the White Isle mentioned by Apollodorus. It is described as a wooded island off the mouth of the Danube. In it there was a temple of Achilles with an image of him; and there the hero was said to dwell immortal with Helen for his wife and

of Achilles filled the army with dismay, and they buried him with Patroclus in the White Isle, mixing the bones of the two together.[1] It is said that after death Achilles consorts with Medea in the Isles of the Blest.[2] And they held games in his honour, at which Eumelus won the chariot-race, Diomedes the foot-race, Ajax the quoit-match, and Teucer the competition in archery.[3] Also his arms were offered

his friends Patroclus and Antilochus for his companions. There he chanted the verses of Homer, and mariners who sailed near the island could hear the song wafted clearly across the water; while such as put in to the shore or anchored off the coast, heard the trampling of horses, the shouts of warriors, and the clash of arms. See Pausanias, iii. 19. 11–13; Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 32–40. As the mortal remains of Achilles were buried in the Troad, and only his immortal spirit was said to dwell in the White Isle, the statement of Apollodorus that the Greeks interred him in the White Isle must be regarded as erroneous, whether the error is due to Apollodorus himself, or, as is more probable, either to his abbreviator or to a copyist. Perhaps in the original form of his work Apollodorus followed Arctinus in describing how Thetis snatched the body of Achilles from the pyre and transported it to the White Isle.

[2] Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 810 *sqq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 174. According to the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* iv. 815), the first to affirm that Achilles married Medea in the Elysian Fields was the poet Ibycus, and the tale was afterwards repeated by Simonides. The story is unknown to Homer, who describes the shade of Achilles repining at his lot and striding alone in the Asphodel Meadow (*Od.* xi. 471–540).

[3] The funeral games in honour of Achilles are described at full length, in the orthodox manner, by Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, iv. 88–595. He agrees with Apollodorus in representing Teucer and Ajax as victorious in the contests of archery and quoit-throwing respectively (*Posthomerica*, iv. 405 *sqq.*, 436 *sqq.*); and he seems to have described Eumelus as the winner of the chariot-race (iv. 560 *sqq.*), but the conclusion of the race is lost through a gap in the text.

S ES

ριον τίθεται,[1] καὶ καταβαίνουσιν εἰς ἅμιλλαν Αἴας καὶ Ὀδυσσεύς. | καὶ κριναντων τῶν Τρωων, ὡς δέ τινες τῶν συμμάχων, Ὀδυσσεὺς προκρίνεται.[2] Αἴας δὲ ὑπὸ λύτης ταραχθεὶς ἐπιβουλεύεται νύκτωρ τῷ στρατεύματι, καὶ αὐτῷ μανίαν ἐμβαλοῦσα Ἀθηνᾶ εἰς τὰ βοσκήματα ἐκτρέπει ξιφήρη· ὁ δὲ ἐκμανεὶς σὺν τοῖς νέμουσι τὰ βοσκή-
7 ματα ὡς Ἀχαιοὺς φονεύει. ὕστερον δὲ σωφρονήσας κτείνει καὶ ἑαυτόν.[3] Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ κωλύει τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ καῆναι, καὶ μόνος οὗτος τῶν ἐν Ἰλίῳ ἀποθανόντων ἐν σορῷ κεῖται· ὁ δὲ τάφος ἐστὶν ἐν Ῥοιτείῳ.

[1] ἡ δὲ πανοπλία αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀριστῳ νικητήριον τίθεται E: τὴν δὲ Ἀχιλλέως πανοπλίαν τίθεισι (sic) τῷ ἀριστῳ νικητήριον S.

[2] Ὀδυσσεὺς προκρίνεται . . . ὡς Ἀχαιοὺς φονεύει S: προκριθέντος δὲ Ὀδυσσέως Αἴας ὑπὸ λύσσης ταράττεται καὶ νύκτωρ ἐπιβουλεύεται τῷ στρατεύματι· καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς μανεὶς εἰς τὰ βοσκήματα ξιφήρης ἐκτρέπεται καὶ ταῦτα κτείνει σὺν τοῖς νέμουσιν ὡς Ἀχαιούς E.

[3] ὕστεροι δὲ σωφρονήσας κτείνει καὶ ἑαυτόν E: καὶ σωφρονήσας ὕστερον ἑαυτὸν κτείνει S.

[1] These events were narrated in the *Little Iliad* of Lesches. See Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 36; compare Aristotle, *Poetics*, 23, p. 1459 b 4 *sq.* The contest between Ajax and Ulysses for the arms of Achilles was also related in the *Aethiopis* of Arctinus. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 34. It was known to Homer (*Od.* xi. 542 *sqq.*), who tells us that the Trojans and Pallas Athena acted as judges and awarded the arms to Ulysses. A Scholiast on this passage of Homer (*v.* 547) informs us that Agamemnon, unwilling to undertake the invidious duty of deciding between the two competitors, referred the dispute to the decision of the Trojan prisoners, inquiring of them which of the two heroes had done most harm to the Trojans. The prisoners decided that Ulysses was the man, and the arms were therefore awarded to him. According to another account, which was adopted by the author of the

as a prize to the bravest, and Ajax and Ulysses came forward as competitors. The judges were the Trojans or, according to some, the allies, and Ulysses was preferred. Disordered by chagrin, Ajax planned a nocturnal attack on the army. And Athena drove him mad, and turned him, sword in hand, among the cattle, and in his frenzy he slaughtered the cattle with the herdsmen, taking them for the Achaeans. But afterwards he came to his senses and slew also himself.[1] And Agamemnon forbade his body to be burnt; and he alone of all who fell at Ilium is buried in a coffin.[2] His grave is at Rhoeteum.

Little Iliad, the Greeks on the advice of Nestor sent spies to the walls of Troy to overhear the Trojans discussing the respective merits of the two champions. They heard two girls debating the question, and thinking that she who gave the preference to Ulysses reasoned the better, they decided accordingly. See Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1056. According to Pindar (*Nem.* viii. 26 (45 *sq.*), it was the Greeks who by secret votes decided in favour of Ulysses. The subject was treated by Aeschylus in a lost play called *The Decision of the Arms*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck[2], pp. 57 *sq.* The madness and suicide of Ajax, consequent on his disappointment at not being awarded the arms, are the theme of Sophocles's extant tragedy *Ajax*. As to the contest for the arms, see further Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, v. 121 *sqq.*; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 481 *sqq.*; Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 43; Hyginus, *Fab.* 107; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 620 628, xiii. 1–398. Quintus Smyrnaeus and Tzetzes agree in representing the Trojan captives as the judges in the dispute, while Ovid speaks of the Greek chiefs sitting in judgment and deciding in favour of Ulysses. According to Zenobius (*l.c.*), Ajax in his frenzy scourged two rams, believing that he was scourging Agamemnon and Menelaus. This account is based on the description of the frenzy of Ajax in Sophocles (*Ajax*, 97–110, 237–244).

[2] Similarly the author of the *Little Iliad* said that the body of Ajax was not burned, but placed in a coffin "on account of

E 8 | Ἤδη δὲ ὄντος τοῦ πολέμου δεκαετοῦς ἀθυμοῦσι
ES τοῖς Ἕλλησι Κάλχας θεσπίζει, οὐκ[1] ἄλλως ἁλῶναι δύνασθαι Τροίαν, ἂν μὴ[2] τὰ Ἡρακλέους ἔχωσι[3]

[1] οὐκ S : μὴ E. [2] ἂν μὴ S : ἢ E.
[3] ἔχωσι S : ἔχουσι E.

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the wrath of the king." See Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* ii. 557, p. 285. Philostratus tells us that the body was laid in the earth by direction of the seer Calchas, "because suicides may not lawfully receive the burial by fire" (*Heroica*, xiii. 7). This was probably the true reason for the tradition that the corpse was not cremated in the usual way. For the ghosts of suicides appear to be commonly dreaded; hence unusual modes of disposing of their bodies are adopted in order to render their spirits powerless for mischief. For example, the Baganda of Central Africa, who commonly bury their dead in the earth, burn the bodies of suicides on waste land or at cross roads in order to destroy the ghosts; for they believe that if the ghost of a suicide is not thus destroyed, it will tempt other people to imitate its example. As an additional precaution everyone who passed the place where the body of a suicide had been burnt threw some grass or a few sticks on the spot, "so as to prevent the ghost from catching him, in case it had not been destroyed." For the same reason, if a man took his life by hanging himself on a tree, the tree was torn up by the roots and burned with the body; if he had killed himself in a house, the house was pulled down and the materials consumed with fire; for "people feared to live in a house in which a suicide had taken place, lest they too should be tempted to commit the same crime." See J. Roscoe, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), pp. 20 *sq.*, 289. Similar customs prevailed among the Banyoro, a neighbouring nation of Central Africa. "It was said to be necessary to destroy a tree upon which a person had hanged himself and to burn down a house in which a person had committed suicide, otherwise they would be a danger to people in general and would influence them to commit suicide." See J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu* (Cambridge, 1915), pp. 24 *sq.* (where, however, the burning of the body is not expressly mentioned). In like manner the Hos of Togoland, in West Africa,

When the war had already lasted ten years, and the Greeks were despondent, Calchas prophesied to them that Troy could not be taken unless they had the bow

are much afraid of the ghost of a suicide. They believe that the ghost of a man who has hanged himself will torment the first person who sees the body. Hence when the relations of such a man approach the corpse they protect themselves against the ghost by wearing magical cords and smearing their faces with a magical powder. The tree on which a man hanged himself is cut down, and the branch on which he tied the fatal noose is lopped off. To this branch the corpse is then tied and dragged ruthlessly through the woods, over stones and through thorny bushes, to the place where "men of blood," that is, all who die a violent death, are buried. There they dig a shallow grave in great haste and throw the body in. Having done so they run home; for they say that the ghosts of "men of blood" fling stones at such as do not retreat fast enough, and that he who is struck by one of these stones must die. The houses of such men are broken down and burnt. A suicide is believed to defile the land and to prevent rain from falling. Hence the district where a man has killed himself must be purified by a sacrifice offered to the Earth-god. See J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 272, 274, 276 *sq.* 756, 758. As to the special treatment of the bodies of suicides, see R. Lasch, "Die Behandlung der Leiche des Selbstmörders," *Globus*, lxxvi. (Brunswick, 1899, pp. 63–66.) In the *Ajax* of Sophocles the rites of burial are at first refused, but afterwards conceded, to the dead body of Ajax; and though these ceremonies are not described, we may assume that they included the burning of the corpse on a pyre. This variation from what appears to be the usual tradition may have been introduced by Sophocles out of deference to the religious feelings of the Athenians, who worshipped Ajax as a hero, and who would have been shocked to think of his remains being denied the ordinary funeral honours. See Jebb's Introduction to his edition of the *Ajax* (Cambridge, 1896), pp. xxix. *sqq.* As to the worship of Ajax at Athens, see Pausanias, i. 35. 3; *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, ii. Nos. 467–471; Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], No. 717, vol. ii. p. 370. From these inscriptions we learn that the Athenian youths used to sail across every year to Salamis and there sacrifice to Ajax.

τόξα συμμαχοῦντα.[1] τοῦτο[2] ἀκούσας Ὀδυσσεὺς μετὰ Διομήδους εἰς Λῆμνον ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Φιλοκτήτην, καὶ δόλῳ ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος τῶν τόξων πείθει πλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Τροίαν. ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος καὶ θεραπευθεὶς ὑπὸ Ποδαλειρίου Ἀλέξ-
9 ανδρον τοξεύει. τούτου δὲ ἀποθανόντος εἰς ἔριν ἔρχονται Ἕλενος καὶ Δηίφοβος ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλένης γάμων· προκριθέντος δὲ τοῦ Δηιφόβου Ἕλενος ἀπολιπὼν Τροίαν ἐν Ἴδῃ διατελεῖ. εἰπόντος δὲ Κάλχαντος Ἕλενον εἰδέναι τοὺς μομένους τὴν πόλιν χρησμούς, ἐνεδρεύσας αὐτὸν Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ
10 χειρωσάμενος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἤγαγε· καὶ ἀναγκαζόμενος ὁ Ἕλενος λέγει πῶς ἂν αἱρεθείη ἡ

[1] τόξα συμμαχοῦντα E : συμμαχοῦντα τόξα S.
[2] τοῦτο E : ταῦτα S.

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[1] These events are related in precisely the same way, though with many poetic embellishments, by Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, ix. 325-479 (the fetching of Philoctetes from Lemnos and the healing of him by Podalirius), x. 206 *sqq.* (Paris wounded to death by the arrows of Philoctetes). The story was told somewhat differently by Lesches in the *Little Iliad*. According to him, the prophecy that Troy could not be taken without the help of Philoctetes was uttered, not by Calchas, but by the Trojan seer Helenus, whom Ulysses had captured; Philoctetes was brought from Lemnos by Diomedes alone, and he was healed, not by Podalirius, but by Machaon. The account of Tzetzes (*Posthomerica*, 571-595) agrees with that of Lesches in respect of the prophecy of Helenus and the cure by Machaon. Sophocles also followed the *Little Iliad* in putting the prophecy in the mouth of the captured Trojan seer Helenus (*Philoctetes*, 604-613). Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 911. In their plays on the subject (see above, note on *Epitome*, iii. 27) Euripides and Sophocles differed as to the envoys whom the Greeks sent to bring the wounded Philoctetes from Lemnos to Troy. According to Euripides, with whom Apollodorus, Quintus Smyrnaeus, and

and arrows of Hercules fighting on their side. On hearing that, Ulysses went with Diomedes to Philoctetes in Lemnos, and having by craft got possession of the bow and arrows he persuaded him to sail to Troy. So he went, and after being cured by Podalirius, he shot Alexander.[1] After the death of Alexander, Helenus and Deiphobus quarrelled as to which of them should marry Helen; and as Deiphobus was preferred, Helenus left Troy and abode in Ida.[2] But as Chalcas said that Helenus knew the oracles that protected the city, Ulysses waylaid and captured him and brought him to the camp; and Helenus was forced to tell how Ilium could be

Hyginus (*Fab.* 103) agree, the envoys were Ulysses and Diomedes; according to Sophocles, they were Ulysses and Neoptolemus, son of Achilles. See Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lii. vol. ii. p. 161, ed. L. Dindorf; Jebb's Introduction to his edition of Sophocles, *Philoctetes* (Cambridge, 1898), pp. xv. *sqq.*; *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck[2], pp. 613 *sqq.* However, while Sophocles diverges from what seems to have been the usual story by representing Neoptolemus instead of Diomedes as the companion of Ulysses on this errand, he implicitly recognizes the other version by putting it in the mouth of the merchant (*Philoctetes*, 570-597). A painting at the entrance to the acropolis of Athens represented Ulysses or Diomedes (it is uncertain which) in the act of carrying off the bow of Philoctetes. See Pausanias, i. 22. 6, with my commentary (vol. ii. pp. 263 *sq.*). The combat between Philoctetes and Paris is described by John Malalas, *Chronogr.* v. pp. 110 *sq.*, ed. L. Dindorf.

[2] Compare Conon, *Narrat.* 34; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 166. The marriage of Deiphobus to Helen after the death of Paris was related in the *Little Iliad*. See Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 36. Compare J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 600 *sq.*; *id. Schol. on Lycophron*, 143, 168; Euripides, *Troades*, 959 *sq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxiv. 251, and on *Od.* iv 276; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, iv. 22. The marriage was seemingly known to Homer (*Od.* iv. 276).

Ἴλιος,[1] πρῶτον[2] μὲν εἰ τὰ Πέλοπος ὀστᾶ κομισθείη παρ' αὐτούς,[3] ἔπειτα εἰ Νεοπτόλεμος συμμαχοίη, τρίτον εἰ τὸ διιπετὲς παλλάδιον ἐκκλαπείη· τούτου γὰρ ἔνδον ὄντος οὐ δύνασθαι τὴν πόλιν ἁλῶναι.

11 Ταῦτα[4] ἀκούσαντες Ἕλληνες[5] τὰ μὲν Πέλοπος ὀστᾶ μετακομίζουσιν, Ὀδυσσέα δὲ καὶ Φοίνικα πρὸς Λυκομήδην πέμπουσιν εἰς Σκῦρον, οἱ δὲ πείθουσι <αὐ>τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον[6] πρέσθαι. παραγενόμενος δὲ οὗτος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ λαβὼν παρ' ἑκόντος Ὀδυσσέως τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς πανο-

[1] ἡ Ἴλιος E : τὸ Ἴλιον S. [2] πρῶτον S : καὶ πρῶτον E.
[3] αὐτούς Bücheler : αὐτοῖς E : αὐταῖς S.
[4] ταῦτα S : τούτων E. [5] Ἕλληνες wanting in S.
[6] πείθουσι <αὐ>τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον Wagner (conjecture) : πείθουσι τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον S : πείθουσι Νεοπτόλεμον E.

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[1] As to the capture of Helenus and his prophecy, see Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 604 *sqq.*, 1337 *sqq.*; Conon, *Narrat.* 34; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 571–579; *id. Chiliades*, vi. 508–515; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 166; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, ii. 18. The mode of his capture and the substance of his prophecies were variously related. The need of fetching the bones of Pelops is mentioned by Tzetzes among the predictions of Helenus; and the necessity of obtaining the Palladium is recorded by Conon and Servius. According to Pausanias (v. 13. 4), it was a shoulder blade of Pelops that was brought from Pisa to Troy; on the return from Troy the bone was lost in a shipwreck, but afterwards recovered by a fisherman.

[2] As to the Palladium, see above, iii. 12. 3.

[3] As to the fetching of Neoptolemus from Scyros, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 506 *sqq.*; the *Little Iliad* of Lesches, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 36 *sq.*; Pindar, *Paean*, vi. 98 *sqq.*, ed. Sandys; Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 343–356; Philostratus Junior, *Imag.* 2; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vi. 57–113, vii. 169–430; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 523–534. Apollodorus agrees with Sophocles in saying that the Greek envoys who fetched

taken,[1] to wit, first, if the bones of Pelops were brought to them; next, if Neoptolemus fought for them; and third, if the Palladium,[2] which had fallen from heaven, were stolen from Troy, for while it was within the walls the city could not be taken.

On hearing these things the Greeks caused the bones of Pelops to be fetched, and they sent Ulysses and Phoenix to Lycomedes at Scyros, and these two persuaded him to let Neoptolemus go.[3] On coming to the camp and receiving his father's arms from Ulysses, who willingly resigned them, Neoptolemus slew many

Neoptolemus from Scyros were Ulysses and Phoenix. According to Quintus Smyrnaeus, they were Ulysses and Diomedes. Ulysses is the only envoy mentioned by Homer, Lesches, and Tzetzes; and Phoenix is the only envoy mentioned by Philostratus. Pindar speaks vaguely of "messengers." In this passage I have adopted Wagner's conjecture *πείθουσι <αὐ>τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον προέσθαι*, "persuaded him to let Neoptolemus go." If this conjecture is not accepted, we seem forced to translate the passage "persuaded Neoptolemus to venture." But I can not cite any exact parallel to such a use of the middle of *προίημι*. When employed absolutely, the verb seems often to convey a bad meaning. Thus Demosthenes uses it in the sense of "throwing away a chance," "neglecting an opportunity" (*Or.* xix. *De falsa legatione*, p. 388, §§ 150, 152, *μὴ πρόεσθαι, οὐ προήσεσθαι*). Iphicrates employed it with the same significance (quoted by Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 23. 6 *διότι προείτο*). Aristotle applied the verb to a man who had "thrown away" his health (*Nicom. Ethics*, iii. 5. 14, *τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξῆν αὐτῷ μὴ νοσεῖν, προεμένῳ δ' οὐκέτι, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἀφέντι λίθον ἔτ' αὐτὸν δυνατὸν ἀναλαβεῖν*). However, elsewhere Aristotle uses the word to describe the lavish liberality of generous men (*Rhetoric*, i. 9. 6, *εἶτα ἡ ἐλευθεριότης· προέμενται γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἀνταγωνίζονται περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, ὧν μάλιστα ἐφίενται ἄλλοι*). In the present passage of Apollodorus, if Wagner's emendation is not accepted, we might perhaps read *<μὴ>πρόεσθαι* and translate, "persuaded Neoptolemus not to throw away the chance." But it is better to acquiesce in Wagner's simple and probable correction.

12 πλίαν πολλοὺς τῶν Τρώων ἀναιρεῖ. ἀφικνεῖται δὲ ὕστερον Τρωσὶ σύμμαχος Εὐρύπυλος ὁ Τηλέφου πολλὴν Μυσῶν δύναμιν ἄγων· τοῦτον ἀριστεύ-
13 σαντα Νεοπτόλεμος ἀπέκτεινεν. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ μετὰ Διομήδους παραγενόμενος νύκτωρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν Διομήδην μὲν αὐτοῦ μένειν εἴα, αὐτὸς δὲ ἑαυτὸν[1] αἰκισάμενος καὶ πενιχρὰν στολὴν ἐνδυσάμενος[2] ἀγνώστως εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέρχεται ὡς ἐπαίτης· γνωρισθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλένης δι' ἐκείνης τὸ παλλάδιον ἔκλεψε[3] καὶ πολλοὺς κτείνας τῶν φυλασσόντων ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς μετὰ Διομήδους κομίζει.

[1] ἑαυτὸν E : αὑτὸν S.

[2] ἐνδυσάμενος ἀγνώστως εἰς τὴν πόλιν E : ἐνδὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀγνώστως S. Perhaps for ἀγνώστως we should read ἄγνωστος.

[3] ἔκλεψε S : ἐκκλέψας E.

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[1] As to the single combat of Eurypylus and Neoptolemus, and the death of Eurypylus, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 516–521; the *Little Iliad* of Lesches, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 37; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, viii. 128–220; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 560–565; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, iv. 17. Eurypulus was king of Mysia. At first his mother Astyoche refused to let him go to the Trojan war, but Priam overcame her scruples by the present of a golden vine. See Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 520. The brief account which Apollodorus gives of the death of Eurypylus agrees closely with the equally summary narrative of Proclus. Sophocles composed a tragedy on the subject, of which some very mutilated fragments have been discovered in Egypt. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 146 *sqq.*; A. S. Hunt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta Papyracea nuper reperta* (Oxford, the Clarendon Press; no date, no pagination).

[2] These events were narrated in the *Little Iliad* of Lesches, as we learn from the summary of Proclus (*Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 37), which runs thus: "And Ulysses, having disfigured himself, comes as a spy to

of the Trojans. Afterwards. Eurypylus, son of Telephus, arrived to fight for the Trojans, bringing a great force of Mysians. He performed doughty deeds, but was slain by Neoptolemus.[1] And Ulysses went with Diomedes by night to the city, and there he let Diomedes wait, and after disfiguring himself and putting on mean attire he entered unknown into the city as a beggar. And being recognized by Helen, he with her help stole away the Palladium, and after killing many of the guards, brought it to the ships with the aid of Diomedes.[2]

Troy, and being recognized by Helen he makes a compact with her concerning the capture of the city; and having slain some of the Trojans he arrives at the ships. And after these things he with Diomedes conveys the Palladium out of Ilium." From this it appears that Ulysses made two different expeditions to Troy: in one of them he went by himself as a spy in mean attire, and being recognized by Helen concerted with her measures for betraying Troy to the Greeks; in the other he went with Diomedes, and together the two stole the Palladium. The former of these expeditions is described by Homer in the *Odyssey* (iv. 242 *sqq.*), where Helen tells how Ulysses disfigured himself with wounds, and disguising himself in mean attire came as a beggar to Troy; how she alone detected him, wormed the secrets of the Greeks out of him, and having sworn not to betray him till he had returned in safety to the ships, let him go free, whereupon on his way back he killed many Trojans. Euripides also relates this visit of Ulysses to Troy, adding that Helen revealed his presence to Hecuba, who spared his life and sent him out of the country (*Hecuba*, 239–250). These two quite distinct expeditions of Ulysses have been confused and blended into one by Apollodorus. As to the joint expedition of Ulysses and Diomedes to Troy, and the stealing of the Palladium, see further Conon, *Narrat.* 34; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, x. 350–360; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* vi. 311; J. Malalas, *Chronogr.* v. pp. 109, 111 *sq.*, ed. L. Dindorf; Zenobius, *Cent.* iii. 8; Apostolius, *Cent.* vi. 15; Suidas, *s.vv.* Διομήδειος ἀνάγκη and Παλλάδιον; Hesychius, *s.v.* Διομήδειος

14 Ὕστερον δὲ ἐπινοεῖ δουρείου ἵππου κατασκευὴν καὶ ὑποτίθεται Ἐπειῷ, ὃς ἦν ἀρχιτέκτων· οὗτος

ἀνάγκη; Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* x. 531, p. 822; Scholiast on Plato, *Republic*, vi. 493 B; Virgil, *Aen.* ii 162–170; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 166; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, v. 5 and 8 *sq.* The narrative of Apollodorus suggests that Ulysses had the principal share in the exploit. But according to another and seemingly more prevalent tradition it was Diomedes who really bore off the image. This emerges particularly from Conon's account. Diomedes, he tells us, mounted on the shoulders of Ulysses, and having thus scaled the wall, he refused to draw his comrade up after him, and went in search of the Palladium. Having secured it, he returned with it to Ulysses, and together they retraced their steps to the Greek camp. But by the way the crafty Ulysses conceived the idea of murdering his companion and making himself master of the fateful image. So he dropped behind Diomedes and drew his sword. But the moon shone full; and as he raised his arm to strike, the flash of the blade in the moonlight caught the eye of the wary Diomedes. He faced round, drew his sword, and, upbraiding the other with his cowardice, drove him before him, while he beat the back of the recreant with the flat of his sword. This incident gave rise to the proverb, "Diomedes's compulsion," applied to such as did what they were forced to do by dire necessity. The proverb is similarly explained by the other Greek proverb-writers and lexicographers cited above, except that, instead of the flash of the sword in the moonlight, they say it was the shadow of the sword raised to strike him which attracted the attention of Diomedes. The picturesque story appears to have been told in the *Little Iliad* (Hesychius, *s.v.* Διομήδειος ἀνάγκη). According to one account, Diomedes and Ulysses made their way into the Trojan citadel through a sewer (Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 166), indeed a narrow and muddy sewer, as Sophocles called it in the play which he composed on the subject. See Julius Pollux, ix. 49; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. p. 36, frag. 367. Some affirmed that the Palladium was treacherously surrendered to the Greek heroes by Theano, the priestess of the goddess (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* vi. 311; Suidas, *s.v.* Παλλά-

But afterwards he invented the construction of the Wooden Horse and suggested it to Epeus, who was an architect.[1] Epeus felled timber on Ida,

διον) ; to this step she was said to have been instigated by her husband Antenor (J. Malalas, *Chronogr.* v. p. 109, ed. L. Dindorf ; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, v. 5 and 8). As to Theano in her capacity of priestess, see Homer, *Il.* vi. 297 *sqq.*

The theft of the Palladium furnished a not infrequent subject to Greek artists ; but the artistic, like the literary, tradition was not agreed on the question whether the actual thief was Diomedes or Ulysses. See my note on Pausanias, i. 22. 6 (vol. ii. pp. 264 *sq.*).

[1] As to the stratagem of the Wooden Horse, by which Troy is said to have been captured, see Homer, *Od.* iv. 271–289, viii. 492–515, xi. 523–532 ; the *Little Iliad* of Lesches, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 37 ; the *Ilii Persis* ("Sack of Troy") by Arctinus, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 49 ; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xii. 23–83, 104–156, 218–443, 539–585, xiii. 21–59 ; Tryphiodorus, *Excidium Ilii*, 57–541 ; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 629–723 ; *id. Schol. on Lycophron*, 930 ; Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 13–267 ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 108 ; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, v. 9 and 11 *sq.* The story is only alluded to by Homer, but was no doubt fully told by Lesches and Arctinus, though of their narratives we possess only the brief abstracts of Proclus. The accounts of later writers, such as Virgil, Quintus Smyrnaeus, Tryphiodorus, Tzetzes, and Apollodorus himself, are probably based on the works of these early cyclic poets. The poem of Arctinus, if we may judge by Proclus's abstract, opened with the deliberations of the Trojans about the Wooden Horse, and from the similarity of the abstract to the text of Apollodorus we may infer that our author followed Arctinus generally, though not in all details ; for instance, he differed from Arctinus in regard to the affair of Laocoon and his sons. See below.

With the stratagem of the Wooden Horse we may compare the stratagem by which, in the war of Independence waged by the United Provinces against Spain, Prince Maurice contrived to make himself master of Breda. The city was then held by

ἀπὸ τῆς Ἴδης[1] ξύλα τεμών ἵππον κατασκευάζει κοῖλον ἔνδοθεν εἰς τὰς πλευρὰς ἀνεῳγμένον. εἰς τοῦτον Ὀδυσσεὺς εἰσελθεῖν πείθει πεντήκοντα τοὺς ἀρίστους, ὡς δὲ ὁ τὴν μικρὰν γράψας Ἰλιάδα φησί, τρισχιλίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς γενομένης νυκτὸς ἐμπρήσαντας τὰς σκηνάς, ἀνιχθέντας περὶ[2] τὴν Τένεδον ναυλογεῖν καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα καταπλεῖν. οἱ δὲ πεῖθονται καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀρίστους ἐμβιβάζουσιν εἰς τὸν ἵππον, ἡγεμόνα καταστήσαντες αὐτῶν Ὀδυσσέα, γράμ-

[1] ἀπὸ τῆς Ἴδης E : ἐπὶ τῶν Ἴδης S.
[2] περὶ S : ἐπὶ E.

a Spanish garrison, which received its supply of fuel by boats. The master of one of these boats, Adrian Vandenberg by name, noticed that in the absence of the governor there was great negligence in conducting the examination to which all boats were subjected before they were allowed to enter the town. This suggested to Vandenberg a plan for taking the citadel by surprise. He communicated his plan to Prince Maurice, who readily embraced it. Accordingly the boat was loaded in appearance with turf as usual; but the turf was supported by a floor of planks fixed at the distance of several feet from the bottom; and beneath this floor seventy picked soldiers were placed under the command of an able officer named Haraugner. The boat had but a few miles to sail, yet through unexpected[1] accidents several days passed before they could reach Breda. The wind veered against them, the melting ice (for it was the month of February) retarded their course, and the boat, having struck upon a bank, was so much damaged that the soldiers were for some time up to their knees in water. Their provisions were almost spent, and to add to their anxieties one of their number was seized with a violent cough, which, if it had continued, would inevitably have betrayed them to the enemy. The man generously entreated his comrades to kill him, offering them his own sword for the purpose; but they as generously refused, and happily the soldier's cough left him before they approached the walls. Even the leak in the boat

and constructed the horse with a hollow interior and an opening in the sides. Into this horse Ulysses persuaded fifty (or, according to the author of the *Little Iliad*, three thousand) of the doughtiest to enter,[1] while the rest, when night had fallen, were to burn their tents, and, putting to sea, to lie to off Tenedos, but to sail back to land after the ensuing night. They followed the advice of Ulysses and introduced the doughtiest into the horse, after appointing Ulysses their leader and engraving on

was stopped by some accident. On reaching the fortifications the boat was searched, but only in the most superficial manner. Still the danger was great, for the turf was immediately purchased and the soldiers of the garrison set to work to unload it. They would soon have uncovered the planks and detected the ambush, if the ready-witted master of the boat had not first amused them with his discourse and then invited them to drink wine with him. The offer was readily accepted. The day wore on, darkness fell, and the Spanish soldiers were all drunk or asleep. At dead of night Haraugner and his men issued from the boat, and dividing into two bodies they attacked the guards and soon made themselves masters of two gates. Seized with a panic, the garrison fled the town. Prince Maurice marched in and took possession of the citadel. These events happened in the year 1590. See Robert Watson, *History of the Reign of Philip the Second*, Fourth Edition (London, 1785), bk. xxi. vol. iii. pp. 157–161.

[1] According to Tzetzes the number of men who entered into the Wooden Horse was twenty-three, and he gives the names of them all (*Posthomerica*, 641–650). Quintus Smyrnaeus gives the names of thirty, and he says that there were more of them (*Posthomerica*, xii. 314–335). He informs us that the maker of the horse, Epeus, entered last and drew up the ladder after him; and knowing how to open and shut the trapdoor, he sat by the bolt. To judge by Homer's description of the heroes in the Horse (*Od.* xi. 526 *sqq.*), the hearts of most of them failed them, for they blubbered and their knees knocked together; but Neoptolemus never blenched and kept fumbling with the hilt of his sword.

ματα ἐγχαράξαντες τὰ δηλούμενα· τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδῆς[1] *Ἕλληνες Ἀθηνᾷ χαριστήριον. αὐτοὶ*[2] *δὲ ἐμπρήσαντες τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ καταλιπόντες Σίνωνα, ὃς ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς πυρσὸν ἀνάπτειν, τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνάγονται καὶ περὶ Τένεδον ναυλοχοῦσιν.*

16 *Ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ἔρημον οἱ Τρῶες τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον θεασάμενοι*[3] *καὶ νομίσαντες αὐτοὺς πεφευγέναι, περιχαρέντες εἶλκον τὸν ἵππον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Πριάμου βασιλείοις*
17 *στήσαντες ἐβουλεύοντο τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. Καλυδνᾶς δὲ λεγούσης ἔνοπλον ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμιν εἶναι, καὶ προσέτι Λαοκόωντος τοῦ μάντεως, τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει κατακαίειν, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ βαράθρων ἀφιέναι· δόξαν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἵνα αὐτὸν εἰάσωσι θεῖον ἀνάθημα,*
18 *τραπέντες ἐπὶ θυσίαν εἰωλοῦντο. Ἀπόλλων δὲ αὐτοῖς σημεῖον ἐπιπέμπει· δύο γὰρ δράκοντες διανηξάμενοι διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐκ τῶν πλησίον*[4]
19 *νήσων τοὺς Λαοκόωντος υἱοὺς κατεσθίουσιν. ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο νὺξ καὶ πάντας ὕπνος κατεῖχεν, οἱ ἀπὸ*

[1] *τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδῆς* S : *τὴν εἰς οἶκον κομιδὴν* E.
[2] *αὐτοὶ δὲ* E : *οἱ δὲ* S.
[3] *στρατόπεδον θεασάμενοι* E : *θεασάμενοι στράτευμα* S.
[4] *πλησίον* E : *πλησίων* S.

[1] As to these deliberations of the Trojans, compare Homer, *Od.* viii. 505 *sqq.*; Arctinus, *Ilii Persis*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 49; Tryphiodorus, *Excidium Ilii*, 250 *sqq.*

[2] Compare the *Ilii Persis* of Arctinus, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 49; Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Antiquit. Roman.* i. 48. 2, Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xii. 444–497; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 347; Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 199–227; Hyginus, *Fab.* 135; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 201; *Scriptores rerum*

the horse an inscription which signified, "For their return home, the Greeks dedicate this thankoffering to Athena." But they themselves burned their tents, and leaving Sinon, who was to light a beacon as a signal to them, they put to sea by night, and lay to off Tenedos.

And at break of day, when the Trojans beheld the camp of the Greeks deserted and believed that they had fled, they with great joy dragged the horse, and stationing it beside the palace of Priam deliberated what they should do. As Cassandra said that there was an armed force in it, and she was further confirmed by Laocoon, the seer, some were for burning it, and others for throwing it down a precipice; but as most were in favour of sparing it as a votive offering sacred to a divinity,[1] they betook them to sacrifice and feasting. However, Apollo sent them a sign; for two serpents swam through the sea from the neighbouring islands and devoured the sons of Laocoon.[2] And when night fell, and all were

mythicarum Latini, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 144 *sq.* (Second Vatican Mythographer, 207). According to Arctinus, our oldest authority for the tragedy of Laocoon, the two serpents killed Laocoon himself and one of his sons. According to Virgil, Hyginus, and Servius, they killed Laocoon and both his sons. According to Quintus Smyrnaeus, the serpents killed the two sons but spared the father, who lived to lament their fate. This last seems to have been the version followed by Apollodorus. The reason of the calamity which befel Laocoon is explained by Servius on the authority of Euphorion. He tells us that when the Greek army landed in the Troad, the Trojans stoned the priest of Poseidon to death, because he had not, by offering sacrifices to the sea god, prevented the invasion. Accordingly, when the Greeks seemed to be departing, it was deemed advisable to sacrifice to Poseidon, no doubt in order to induce him to give the Greeks a stormy passage. But the priesthood was vacant, and it was necessary

Τενέδου προσέπλεον, καὶ Σινων αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ
'Αχιλλέως τάφου πυρσὸν ἦπτεν. Ἑλένη δὲ ἐλθοῦ-
σα περὶ τὸν ἵππον, μιμουμένη τὰς φωνὰς ἑκάστης
τῶν γυναικῶν, τοὺς ἀριστέας ἐκάλει. ὑπακοῦσαι
δὲ 'Αντίκλου θελοντος 'Οδυσσεὺς τὸ στόμα κατέ-
20 σχεν. ὡς δ' ἐνόμισαν κοιμᾶσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους,
ἀνοίξαντες σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐξῆεσαν· καὶ πρῶτος
μὲν 'Εχίων Ἱππάσου ἀφαλλόμενος [1] ἀπέθανεν, οἱ
δὲ λοιποὶ σειρὰ ἐξιόντες ἑαυτούς [2] ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη
παρεγένοντο καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες ὑπεδέ-
21 ξαντο τοὺς ἀπὸ Τενέδου καταπλεύσαντας. χωρή-
σαντες δὲ μεθ' ὅπλων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, εἰς τὰς οἰκίας

[1] ἀφαλλόμενος E : ἐφαλλόμενος S.
[2] ἑαυτοὺς E : αὐτοὺς S.

to choose a priest by lot. The lot fell on Laocoon, priest of the Thymbraean Apollo, but he had incurred the wrath of Apollo by sleeping with his wife in front of the divine image, and for this sacrilege he perished with his two sons. This narrative helps us to understand the statement of Apollodorus that the two serpents were sent by Apollo for a sign. According to Tzetzes, the death of Laocoon's son took place in the temple of the Thymbraean Apollo, the scene of the crime thus becoming the scene of the punishment. Sophocles wrote a tragedy on the subject of Laocoon, but though a few fragments of the play have survived, its contents are unknown. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², pp. 211 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 38 *sqq.* In modern times the story of Laocoon is probably even better known from the wonderful group of statuary in the Vatican than from the verses of Virgil. That group, the work of three Rhodian sculptors, graced the palace of the emperor Titus in the time of Pliny, who declared that it was to be preferred to any other work either of sculpture or painting (*Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 37). Lessing took the group for the text of his famous essay on the comparative limitations of poetry and art.

[1] The beacon-light kindled by the deserter and traitor

plunged in sleep, the Greeks drew near by sea from Tenedos, and Sinon kindled the beacon on the grave of Achilles to guide them.[1] And Helen, going round the horse, called the chiefs, imitating the voices of each of their wives. But when Anticlus would have answered, Ulysses held fast his mouth.[2] And when they thought that their foes were asleep, they opened the horse and came forth with their arms. The first, Echion, son of Portheus, was killed by leaping from it; but the rest let themselves down by a rope, and lighted on the walls, and having opened the gates they admitted their comrades who had landed from Tenedos. And marching, arms in hand, into

Sinon to guide the Greeks across the water to the doomed city is a regular feature in the narratives of the taking of Troy; but the only other writer who mentions that it shone from the grave of Achilles is Tryphiodorus, who adds that all night long there blazed a light like the full moon above Helen's chamber, for she too was awake and signalling to the enemy, while all the town was plunged in darkness and silence; the sounds of revelry and music had died away, and not even the barking of a dog broke the stillness of the summer night. See Tryphiodorus, *Excidium Ilii*, 487 521. That the poet conceived the fall of Troy to have happened in the summer time is shown by his describing how the Trojans wreathed the mane of the Wooden Horse with flowers culled on river banks, and how the women spread carpets of roses under its feet (verses 316 *sq.*, 340–344). For these flowers of fancy Tryphiodorus is severely taken to task by the pedantic Tzetzes on the ground that Troy fell at midwinter; and he clinches the lesson administered to his predecessor by observing that he had learned from Orpheus, "who had it from another man," never to tell a lie. Such was the state of the Higher Criticism at Byzantium in the twelfth century of our era. See J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 700–707.

[2] This incident is derived from Homer, *Od.* iv. 274–289. It is copied and told with fuller details by Tryphiodorus, who says that Anticlus expired under the iron grip of Ulysses (*Excidium Ilii*, 463–490).

ἐπερχόμενοι κοιμωμένους ἀνῄρουν. καὶ Νεοπτό-
λεμος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑρκείου Διὸς βωμοῦ κατα-
E φεύγοντα Πρίαμον ἀνεῖλεν· Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ καὶ
Μενέλαος Γλαῦκον τὸν Ἀντήνορος[1] εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν
φεύγοντα γνωρίσαντες μεθ' ὅπλων ἐλθόντες[2] ἔσω-
σαν. Αἰνείας δὲ Ἀγχίσην τὸν πατέρα βαστάσας
ἔφυγεν, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν
ES 22 εἴασαν. | Μενέλαος δὲ Δηίφοβον κτείνας Ἑλένην
ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἄγει· ἀπάγουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν Θησέως
E μητέρα Αἴθραν οἱ Θησέως παῖδες Δημοφῶν καὶ
Ἀκάμας· καὶ γὰρ τούτους λέγουσιν εἰς Τροίαν

[1] Ἀντήνορος Wagner: ἀγήνορος E.
[2] ἐλθόντες Frazer: θέλοντες E, Wagner.

[1] As to the death of Priam at the altar, compare Arctinus, *Iliï Persis*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 49; Euripides, *Troades*, 16 *sq.*, 481–483; *id. Hecuba*, 22–24; Pausanias, iv. 17. 4; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiii. 220–250; Tryphiodorus, *Excidium Ilii*, 634–639; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 732 *sq.*; Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 533–558; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, v. 12. According to Lesches, the ruthless Neoptolemus dragged Priam from the altar and despatched him at his own door. See Pausanias, x. 27. 2, with my note (vol. v. p. 371). The summary account of Proclus agrees almost verbally with the equally summary account of Apollodorus.

[2] Ulysses and Menelaus were bound by ties of hospitality to Antenor; for when they went as ambassadors to Troy to treat of the surrender of Helen, he entertained them hospitably in his house. See Homer, *Il.* iii. 203–207. Moreover, Antenor had advocated the surrender of Helen and her property to the Greeks. See Homer, *Il.* iii. 347–353. According to Lesches, one of Antenor's sons, Lycaon, was wounded in the sack of Troy, but Ulysses recognized him and carried him safe out of the fray. See Pausanias, x. 26. 8. Sophocles composed a tragedy on the subject of Antenor and his sons, in which he said that at the storming of Troy the Greeks hung a leopard's skin in front of Antenor's house in

the city, they entered the houses and slew the sleepers. Neoptolemus slew Priam, who had taken refuge at the altar of Zeus of the Courtyard.[1] But when Glaucus, son of Antenor, fled to his house, Ulysses and Menelaus recognized and rescued him by their armed intervention.[2] Aeneas took up his father Anchises and fled, and the Greeks let him alone on account of his piety.[3] But Menelaus slew Deiphobus and led away Helen to the ships[4]; and Aethra, mother of Theseus, was also led away by Demophon and Acamas, the sons of Theseus; for they say that they afterwards went to Troy.[5] And

token that it was to be respected by the soldiery. See Strabo, xiii. 1. 53, p. 608. In Polygnotus's great picture of the sack of Troy, which was one of the sights of Delphi, the painter depicted the house of Antenor with the leopard's skin hung on the wall; in front of it were to be seen Antenor and his wife, with their children, including Glaucus, while beside them servants were lading an ass, to indicate the long journey which the exiles were about to undertake. See Pausanias, x. 27. 3 *sq.* According to Roman tradition, Antenor led a colony of Enetians to the head of the Adriatic, where the people were thenceforth called Venetians (Livy i. 1). As to Sophocles's play, *The Antenorids*, see *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck², p. 160; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 86 *sqq.*

[3] Compare Xenophon, *Cyneg.* i. 15; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiii. 315–327; Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 699 *sqq.*

[4] Compare Arctinus, *Ilii Persis*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 49; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiii. 354 *sqq.*; Tryphiodorus, *Excidium Ilii*, 627–633; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 729–731; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, v. 12. Deiphobus had married Helen after the death of Paris. See above, *Epitome*, v. 8. 9.

[5] Compare Arctinus, *Ilii Persis*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 50; Pausanias, x. 25. 8; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiii. 496–543; Scholia on Euripides, *Hecuba*, 123, and

ἐλθεῖν ὕστερον. Αἴας δὲ ὁ Λοκρὸς Κασάνδραν ὁρῶν περιπεπλεγμένην τῷ ξοάνῳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς βιάζεται· διὰ <τοῦ>το τὸ[1] ξόανον εἰς οὐρανὸν βλέπειν.[2]

ES 23 | Κτείναντες δὲ τοὺς Τρῶας τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ λάφυρα ἐμερίσαντο. καὶ θύσαντες πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς Ἀστυάνακτα ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἔρριψαν, Πολυξένην δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀχιλλέως τάφῳ κατέ-

[1] διὰ <τοῦ>το τὸ Wagner : διὰ τὸ τὸ E.
[2] For βλέπειν we should perhaps read βλέπει.

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on *Troades*, 31 ; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, v. 13. Homer mentions Aethra as one of the handmaids of Helen at Troy (*Il.* iii. 53). Quintus Smyrnaeus (*l.c.*) has described at length the recognition of the grandmother by the grandsons, who, according to Hellanicus, went to Troy for the purpose of rescuing or ransoming her (Scholast on Euripides, *Hecuba* 123). The recognition was related also by Lesches (Pausanias, *l.c.*). Aethra had been taken prisoner at Athens by Castor and Pollux when they rescued their sister Helen. See above, iii. 7. 4, *Epitome*, i 23. On the chest of Cypselus at Olympia the artist portrayed Helen setting her foot on Aethra's head and tugging at her handmaid's hair. See Pausanias, v. 19. 3 ; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xi. vol. i. p. 179, ed. L. Dindorf.

[1] As to the violence offered to Cassandra by Ajax, compare Arctinus, *Iliu Persis*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 49 *sq.* ; Scholast on Homer, *Il.* xiii. 66, referring to Callimachus ; Pausanias, i. 15. 2, v. 11. 6, v. 19. 5, x. 26. 3, x. 31. 2 ; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiii. 420–429 ; Tryphiodorus, *Excidium Ilii*, 647–650 ; Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 403–406 ; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, v. 12 ; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 55 (First Vatican Mythographer, 181). Arctinus described how, in dragging Cassandra from the image of Athena, at which she had taken refuge, Ajax drew down the image itself. This incident was carved on the chest of Cypselus at Olympia (Pausanias, v. 19. 5), and painted by Polygnotus in his great

the Locrian Ajax, seeing Cassandra clinging to the wooden image of Athena, violated her; therefore they say that the image looks to heaven.[1]

And having slain the Trojans, they set fire to the city and divided the spoil among them. And having sacrificed to all the gods, they threw Astyanax from the battlements[2] and slaughtered Polyxena on the

picture of the sack of Troy at Delphi (Pausanias, x. 26. 3). The Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*) and Quintus Smyrnaeus describe how the image of Athena turned up its eyes to the roof in horror at the violence offered to the suppliant.

[2] Compare Arctinus, *Iliï Persis*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 50; Euripides, *Troades*, 719–739, 1133–1135; *id. Andromache*, 8–11; Pausanias, x. 26. 9; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiii. 251–257; Tryphiodorus, *Excidium Ilii*, 644–646; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1263; Scholiast on Euripides, *Andromache*, 10; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 415–417; Hyginus, *Fab.* 109; Seneca, *Troades*, 524 *sqq.*, 1063 *sqq.* While ancient writers generally agree that Astyanax was killed by being thrown from a tower at or after the sack of Troy, they differ as to the agent of his death. Arctinus, as reported by Proclus, says merely that he was killed by Ulysses. Tryphiodorus reports that he was hurled by Ulysses from a high tower. On the other hand, Lesches in the *Little Iliad* said that it was Neoptolemus who snatched Astyanax from his mother's lap and cast him down from the battlements (J. Tzetzes and Pausanias, *ll.cc.*). According to Euripides and Seneca, the murder of the child was not perpetrated in hot blood during the sack of Troy, but was deliberately executed after the capture of the city in pursuance of a decree passed by the Greeks in a regular assembly. This seems to have been the version followed by Apollodorus, who apparently regarded the death of Astyanax as a sacrifice, like the slaughter of Polyxena on the grave of Achilles. But the killing of Astyanax was not thus viewed by our other ancient authorities, unless we except Seneca, who describes how Astyanax leaped voluntarily from the wall, while Ulysses was reciting the words of the soothsayer Calchas and invoking the cruel gods to attend the rite.

σφαξαν. λαμβάνει δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων μὲν κατ' ἐξαίρετον Κασάνδραν, Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ Ἀνδρόμαχην, Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ Ἑκάβην. ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, Ἕλενος αὐτὴν λαμβάνει, καὶ διακομισθεὶς εἰς Χερρόνησον σὺν αὐτῇ κύνα γειομένην θάπτει, ἔνθα νῦν λέγεται Κυνὸς σῆμα. Λαοδίκην μὲν γὰρ κάλλει τῶν Πριάμου θυγατέρων διαφέρουσαν βλεπόντων πάντων γῆ χάσματι ἀπέκρυψεν. | ὡς δὲ S

[1] As to the sacrifice on the grave of Achilles, see Arctinus, *Iliï Persis*, summarized by Proclus in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 50; Euripides, *Hecuba*, 107 *sqq.*, 218 *sqq.*, 391–393, 521–582; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiv. 210–328; Tryphiodorus, *Excidium Ilii*, 686 *sq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 323; Hyginus, *Fab.* 110; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 439–480; Seneca, *Troades*, 168 *sqq.*, 938–944, 1118–1164; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, v. 13; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 322. According to Euripides and Seneca, the ghost of Achilles appeared above his grave and demanded the sacrifice of the maiden. Others said that the spirit of the dead showed himself in a dream to Neoptolemus (so Quintus Smyrnaeus) or to Agamemnon (so Ovid). In Quintus Smyrnaeus the ghost threatens to keep the Greeks windbound at Troy until they have complied with his demand, and accordingly the offering of the sacrifice is followed by a great calm. Euripides seems to have contemplated the sacrifice, in primitive fashion, as a means of furnishing the ghost with the blood needed to quench his thirst (*Hecuba*, 391–393, 536 *sq.*); but Seneca represents the ghost as desiring to have Polyxena as his wife in the Elysian Fields (*Troades*, 938–944). A more romantic turn is given to the tradition by Philostratus, who says that after the death of Achilles and before the fall of Troy, the amorous Polyxena stole out from the city and stabbed herself to death on the grave of Achilles, that she might be his bride in the other world. See Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 18; *id. Vit. Apollon.* iv. 16. 4. According to the usual tradition, it was Neoptolemus who slew the maiden on his father's tomb. Pictures of the sacrifice were to be seen at Athens and Per-

grave of Achilles.[1] And as special awards Agamemnon got Cassandra, Neoptolemus got Andromache, and Ulysses got Hecuba.[2] But some say that Helenus got her, and crossed over with her to the Chersonese[3]; and that there she turned into a bitch, and he buried her at the place now called the Bitch's Tomb.[4] As for Laodice, the fairest of the daughters of Priam, she was swallowed up by a chasm in the earth in the sight of all.[5] When they

gamus (Pausanias, i. 22. 6, x. 25. 10). Sophocles wrote a tragedy on the theme. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 161 *sqq.*

[2] Compare Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiv. 20–23, who agrees with Apollodorus as to the partition of these captive women among the Greek leaders.

[3] This is the version of the story adopted by Dares Phrygius, who says that Helenus went to the Chersonese along with Hecuba, Andromache, and Cassandra (*De Excidio Trojae*, 43).

[4] As to the transformation of Hecuba into a bitch, compare Euripides, *Hecuba*, 1259–1273; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiv. 347–351; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xxxii. vol. ii. p. 20, ed. L. Dindorf; Agatharchides, *De Erythraeo Mari*, in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 442a 23 *sq.*, ed Bekker; Julius Pollux, v. 45; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 315, 1176; Cicero, *Tuscul. Disput.* iii 26. 63; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 565–571; Hyginus, *Fab.* 111; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen* iii. 6; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H Bode, vol. i. p. 145 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 209). A rationalistic version of the story is told by Dictys Cretensis (*Bellum Trojanum*, v. 16). We may conjecture that the fable of the transformation originated in the resemblance of the name Hecuba to the name Hecate; for Hecate was supposed to be attended by dogs, and Hecuba is called an attendant of Hecate (Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1176).

[5] Compare Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiii. 544–551; Tryphiodorus, *Excidium Ilii*, 660–663; J. Tzetzes, *Posthomerica*, 736; *id. Schol on Lycophron*, 314.

ἔμελλον ἀποπλεῖν πορθήσαντες Τροίαν, ὑπὸ Κάλχαντος κατείχοντο, μηνίειν Ἀθηνᾶν αὐτοῖς λέγοντος διὰ τὴν Αἴαντος ἀσέβειαν. | καὶ τὸν μὲν Αἴαντα[1] κτείνειν ἔμελλον, φεύγοντα[2] δὲ ἐπὶ βωμὸν εἶασαν.

VI. | Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συνελθόντων εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος ἐφιλονείκουν, Μενελάου λέγοντος ἀποπλεῖν, Ἀγαμέμνονος δὲ ἐπιμένειν κελεύοντος καὶ θύειν Ἀθηνᾷ. | ἀναχθέντες[3] δὲ Διομήδης · καὶ [4] Νέστωρ καὶ Μενέλαος ἅμα, οἱ μὲν εὐπλοοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ Μενέλαος χειμῶνι περιπεσών, τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπολομένων σκαφῶν, πέντε ναυσὶν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἀφικνεῖται.

2 Ἀμφίλοχος δὲ καὶ Κάλχας καὶ Λεοντεὺς καὶ Ποδαλείριος καὶ Πολυποίτης[5] ἐν Ἰλίῳ τὰς ναῦς ἀπολιπόντες ἐπὶ Κολοφῶνα πεζῇ πορεύονται, κἀκεῖ θάπτουσι Κάλχαντα τὸν μάντιν· ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ λόγιον τελευτήσειν, ἐὰν ἑαυτοῦ[6] σοφωτέρῳ
3 περιτύχῃ μάντει. ὑποδεχθέντων οὖν ὑπὸ Μόψου μάντεως, ὃς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Μαντοῦς παῖς ὑπῆρχεν, οὗτος ὁ Μόψος περὶ μαντικῆς ἤρισε Κάλχαντι. καὶ Κάλχαντος ἀνακρίναντος ἐρινεοῦ

[1] καὶ τὸν μὲν Αἴαντα κτείνειν S : τὸν μέντοι Αἴαντα διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν κτείνειν E.

[2] φεύγοντα ES : we should perhaps read φυγόντα.

[3] ἀναχθεῖτες δὲ Διομήδης Νέστωρ καὶ Μενελάος ἅμα, οἱ μὲν ἀποπλοοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ Μενελαος χειμῶνι περιπεσών E : Διομήδης μὲν οὖν καὶ Νέστωρ εὐπλοοῦσι, Μενελαος δὲ μετὰ τούτων ἀναχθεὶς χειμῶνι περιπεσὼν S. In the text I have corrected the ἀποπλοοῦσιν of E by the εὐπλοοῦσιν of S.

[4] καὶ inserted by Frazer.

[5] καὶ Ποδαλειριος καὶ Πολυποίτης E, wanting in S.

[6] ἑαυτοῦ S : αὐτοῦ E.

had laid Troy waste and were about to sail away, they were detained by Calchas, who said that Athena was angry with them on account of the impiety of Ajax. And they would have killed Ajax, but he fled to the altar and they let him alone.[1]

VI. After these things they met in assembly, and Agamemnon and Menelaus quarrelled, Menelaus advising that they should sail away, and Agamemnon insisting that they should stay and sacrifice to Athena. When they put to sea, Diomedes, Nestor, and Menelaus in company, the two former had a prosperous voyage, but Menelaus was overtaken by a storm, and after losing the rest of his vessels, arrived with five ships in Egypt.[2]

But Amphilochus, and Calchas, and Leonteus, and Podalirius, and Polypoetes left their ships in Ilium and journeyed by land to Colophon, and there buried Calchas the diviner[3]; for it was foretold him that he would die if he met with a wiser diviner than himself. Well, they were lodged by the diviner Mopsus, who was a son of Apollo and Manto, and he wrangled with Calchas about the art of divination. A wild fig-tree grew on the spot,

[1] Compare Arctinus, *Ilii Persis*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 49 *sq.* Ulysses advised the Greeks to stone Ajax to death for his crime against Cassandra (Pausanias, x. 31. 2).

[2] Compare Homer, *Od.* iii. 130 *sqq.*, 276 *sqq* ; Hagias, *Returns* (*Nostoi*), summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 53.

[3] Compare Hagias, *Returns*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 53; Strabo, xiv. 1. 27, p. 642; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 427–430, 980.

ἑστώσης "Πόσους[1] ὀλύνθους φέρει;" ὁ Μόψος· "Μυρίους" ἔφη "καὶ μέδιμνον καὶ ἕνα ὀλυνθον
4 περισσόν" καὶ εὑρέθησαν οὕτω. Μόψος δὲ συὸς οὔσης ἐπιτόκου ἠρώτα Κάλχαντα,[2] πόσους χοί-
S ρους[3] κατὰ γαστρὸς ἔχει καὶ πότε τέκοι.[4] | τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος·[5] "Ὀκτώ," μειδιάσας ὁ Μόψος ἔφη· "Κάλχας τῆς ἀκριβοῦς μαντείας ἀπεναντιῶς[6] διακεῖται, ἐγὼ δ' Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Μαντοῦς παῖς ὑπάρχων τῆς ἀκριβοῦς μαντείας τὴν ὀξυδορκίαν πάντως πλουτῶ, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ὁ Κάλχας ὀκτώ, ἀλλ' ἐννέα κατὰ γαστρός, καὶ τούτους ἄρρενας ὅλους ἔχειν μαντεύομαι, καὶ αὔριον ἀνυπερθέτως ἐν ἕκτῃ
FS ὥρᾳ τεχθήσεσθαι." | ὧν[7] γενομένων Κάλχας ἀθυ-
S μήσας ἀπέθανε[8] | καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν Νοτίῳ.

[1] "πόσους ὀλύνθους . . . καὶ εὑρέθησαν οὕτω E: "πόσα ἔχει;" τοῦ δὲ εἰποντος μύρια καὶ μετρῳ μεδιμνον καὶ ἓν περισσόν," καταστήσας Κάλχας ωιρώδα εὗρε καὶ μέδιμνον καὶ ἓν πλεονάζον κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Μόψου πρόρρησιν S. Here καταστήσας is clearly wrong. Herwerden conjectured καταπείσας (*Mnemosyne*, N S xx. (1892), p. 200 : Wagner suggested καταπλήσας (viz. τὸ μετρον). Perhaps we should read καταμετρήσας (comparing Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 427, καὶ μετρησαντες εὑρον οὕτω).

[2] ἠρωτα Κάλχαντι (*sic*) S : ἠρώτησε Κάλχαντα Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 427 : ἠρώτα E.

[3] πόσους χοίρους S (compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 980, Πόσους χοίρους ἔχει κατὰ γαστρὸς) : πόσους E.

[4] καὶ πότε τέκοι E, wanting in S.

[5] τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος . . . ἐν ἕκτῃ ὥρᾳ τεχθήσεσθαι S : τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν εἰπόντος αὐτὸς ἔφη δέκα χοίρους ἔχειν καὶ τὸν ἕνα τούτων ἄρρενα, τέξεσθαι δὲ αὔριον E, "and when he (Calchas) said nothing, he himself (Mopsus) said that the sow had ten pigs, and that one of them was a male, and that she would farrow on the morrow." Thus the versions of S and E differ on some points. The version of Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 980) agrees substantially, though not verbally, with that of E. It runs thus : Μόψος δὲ συὸς ἐπι τόκου ἑστώσης, ἤρετο, Πόσους χοίρους ἔχει κατὰ γαστρός, καὶ πότε τέξεται ; Κάλχαντος δὲ μὴ ἀποκριναμένου, αὐτὸς ὁ Μόψος πάλιν εἶπε, Δέκα χοίρους ἔχει, ὧν

and when Calchas asked, "How many figs does it bear?" Mopsus answered, "Ten thousand, and a bushel, and one fig over," and they were found to be so. And when Mopsus asked Calchas concerning a pregnant sow, "How many pigs has she in her womb, and when will she farrow?" Calchas answered, "Eight." But Mopsus smiled and said, "The divination of Calchas is the reverse of exact; but I, as a son of Apollo and Manto, am extremely rich in the sharp sight which comes of exact divination, and I divine that the number of pigs in the womb is not eight, as Calchas says, but nine, and that they are all male and will be farrowed without fail to-morrow at the sixth hour." So when these things turned out so, Calchas died of a broken heart and was buried at Notium.[1]

[1] Compare Strabo, xiv. 1. 27, pp. 642 *sq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 427–430, 980. From Strabo we learn that the riddle of Calchas concerning the wild fig tree was recorded by Hesiod, and that the riddle of Mopsus concerning the sow was recorded by Pherecydes. Our authorities vary somewhat in regard to the latter riddle. According to Pherecydes, the true answer was, "Three little pigs, and one of them a female." According to Tzetzes, Calchas could not solve the riddle, so Mopsus solved it by saying that the sow would farrow ten little pigs, of which one would be a male. Strabo also tells us that the oracle which doomed Calchas to death whenever he should meet a diviner more skilful than himself, was mentioned by Sophocles in his play *The Demand for Helen*. As to that play, see *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 121 *sqq.* A different story of the rivalry of the two seers is told by Conon (*Narrat.* 6).

ὁ εἷς ἄρρην· τέξεται δὲ κατὰ τὴν αὔριον. οὗ γενομένου Κάλχας ἀθυμήσας τελευτᾷ. The same version is repeated by Tzetzes elsewhere (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 427) with a few verbal variations.

[6] ἀπεναντιῶς Frazer: ἀπεναντίας S.

[7] ὧν E: τούτων γοῦν S.

[8] ἀπέθανε S: τελευτᾷ E, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 427 and 980.

5 Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ θύσας ἀνάγεται καὶ Τενέδῳ προσίσχει, Νεοπτόλεμον δὲ πείθει Θέτις ἀφικομένη ἐπιμεῖναι δύο ἡμέρας καὶ θυσιάσαι, καὶ ἐπιμένει. οἱ δὲ ἀνάγονται καὶ περὶ Τῆνον χειμάζονται. Ἀθηνᾶ γὰρ ἐδεήθη Διὸς τοῖς Ἕλλησι χειμῶνα ἐπιπέμψαι. καὶ πολλαὶ νῆες βυθίζονται.

ES 6 | Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ[1] ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴαντος ναῦν κεραυνὸν βάλλει, ὁ δὲ τῆς νεὼς διαλυθείσης ἐπί τινα πέτραν διασωθεὶς παρὰ τὴν θεοῦ ἐφη πρόνοιαν σεσῶσθαι. Ποσειδῶν δὲ πλήξας τῇ τριαίνῃ[2] τὴν πέτραν ἔσχισεν, ὁ δὲ πεσὼν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τελευτᾷ, καὶ ἐκβρασθέντα θάπτει Θέτις ἐν Μυκόνῳ.

7 Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Εὐβοίᾳ προσφερομένων νυκτὸς Ναύπλιος ἐπὶ τοῦ Καφηρέως ὄρους[3] πυρσὸν ἀνάπτει· οἱ δὲ νομίσαντες εἶναί τινας τῶν σεσωσμένων προσπλέουσι, καὶ περὶ τὰς Καφηρίδας πέτρας θραύεται τὰ σκάφη καὶ πολλοὶ

[1] Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ S : Ὅτι Ἀθηνᾶ E.
[2] πλήξας τῇ τριαίνῃ S : τριαίνῃ πλήξας E.
[3] ὄρους E : ὄρους τῆς Εὐβοίας S.

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[1] As to the shipwreck and death of the Locrian Ajax, compare Homer, *Od.* iv. 499–511; Hagias, *Returns*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 53; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiii. 66; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiv. 530–589; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 365, 387, 389, 402; Virgil, *Aen.* i. 39–45; Hyginus, *Fab.* 116; Seneca, *Agamemnon*, 532–556; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, vi. 1. In his great picture of the underworld, which Polygnotus painted at Delphi, the artist depicted Ajax as a castaway, the brine forming a scurf on his skin (Pausanias, x. 31. 1). According to the Scholiast on Homer (*i.e.*) Ajax was cast up on the shore of Delos, where Thetis found and buried him. But as it was unlawful to be buried or even to die in Delos (Thucydides, iii. 104), the

After sacrificing, Agamemnon put to sea and touched at Tenedos. But Thetis came and persuaded Neoptolemus to wait two days and to offer sacrifice; and he waited. But the others put to sea and encountered a storm at Tenos; for Athena entreated Zeus to send a tempest against the Greeks; and many ships foundered.

And Athena threw a thunderbolt at the ship of Ajax; and when the ship went to pieces he made his way safe to a rock, and declared that he was saved in spite of the intention of Athena. But Poseidon smote the rock with his trident and split it, and Ajax fell into the sea and perished; and his body, being washed up, was buried by Thetis in Myconos.[1]

The others being driven to Euboea by night, Nauplius kindled a beacon on Mount Caphereus; and they, thinking it was some of those who were saved, stood in for the shore, and the vessels were wrecked on the Capherian rocks, and many men perished.[2]

statement of Apollodorus that Ajax was buried in Myconus, a small island to the east of Delos, is more probable. It is said that on hearing of his death the Locrians mourned for him and wore black for a year, and every year they faded a vessel with splendid offerings, hoisted a black sail on it, and, setting the ship on fire, let it drift out to sea, there to burn down to the water's edge as a sacrifice to the drowned hero. See Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 365. Sophocles wrote a tragedy, *The Locrian Ajax*, on the crime and punishment of the hero. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 8 *sqq.*

[2] As to the false lights kindled by Nauplius to lure the Greek ships on to the breakers, see above, ii. 1. 5; Euripides, *Helen*, 766 *sq.*, 1126 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 432; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiv. 611–628; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 384; Propertius, v. 1. 115 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 116; Seneca, *Agamemnon*, 557–575; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, vi. 1; Servius on Virgil, *Aen.*

E 8 τελευτῶσιν. | ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Ναυπλίου[1] καὶ Κλυμένης τῆς Κατρέως υἱὸς Παλαμήδης ἐπιβουλαῖς Ὀδυσσέως λιθοβοληθεὶς ἀναιρεῖται. τοῦτο μαθὼν Ναύπλιος ἔπλευσε πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὴν τοῦ
9 παιδὸς ἀπῄτει ποινήν· ἄπρακτος δὲ ὑποστρέψας, ὡς πάντων χαριζομένων τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀγαμέμνονι, μεθ' οὗ τὸν Παλαμήδην ἀνεῖλεν Ὀδυσσεύς, παραπλέων τὰς χώρας τὰς Ἑλληνίδας παρεσκεύασε τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γυναῖκας μοιχευθῆναι, Κλυταιμνήστραν Αἰγίσθῳ, Αἰγιάλειαν τῷ Σθενέλου
10 Κομήτῃ, τὴν Ἰδομενέως Μηδὰν ὑπὸ Λεύκου· ἣν καὶ ἀνεῖλε Λεῦκος ἅμα Κλεισιθύρᾳ[2] τῇ θυγατρὶ ταύτης ἐν τῷ ναῷ[3] προσφυγούσῃ, καὶ δέκα πόλεις ἀποσπάσας[4] τῆς Κρήτης ἐτυράννησε· καὶ μετὰ τὸν Τρωικὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὸν Ἰδομενέα κατάραντα
11 τῇ Κρήτῃ ἐξῄλασε. ταῦτα πρότερον κατασκευάσας ὁ Ναύπλιος, ὕστερον μαθὼν τὴν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπάνοδον, τὸν εἰς τὸν Καφηρέα, νῦν δὲ Ξυλοφάγον λεγόμενον, ἀνῆψε φρυκτόν· ἔνθα προσπελάσαντες Ἕλληνες ἐν τῷ δοκεῖν λιμένα εἶναι διεφθάρησαν.

[1] τοῦ Ναυπλίου Frazer : αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ναυπλίου E, Wagner.

[2] Κλεισιθύρᾳ E : Κλεισιθύρα Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 1222, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 384, *id. Chiliades*, iii. 294.

[3] The name of the deity of the temple seems wanting, perhaps τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

[4] ἀποσπάσας E, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 384. We should perhaps read ἀποστήσας, "having caused to revolt."

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xi. 260 ; Lactantius Placidus on Statius, *Achil.* i. 93 ; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 46, 141 (First Vatican Mythographer, 144 ; Second Vatican Mythographer, 201). The story was probably told by Hagias in his epic *The Returns* (*Nostoi*), though in the abstract of

For Palamedes, the son of Nauplius and Clymene daughter of Catreus, had been stoned to death through the machinations of Ulysses.[1] And when Nauplius learned of it,[2] he sailed to the Greeks and claimed satisfaction for the death of his son; but when he returned unsuccessful (for they all favoured King Agamemnon, who had been the accomplice of Ulysses in the murder of Palamedes), he coasted along the Grecian lands and contrived that the wives of the Greeks should play their husbands false, Clytaemnestra with Aegisthus, Aegialia with Cometes, son of Sthenelus, and Meda, wife of Idomeneus, with Leucus. But Leucus killed her, together with her daughter Clisithyra, who had taken refuge in the temple; and having detached ten cities from Crete he made himself tyrant of them; and when after the Trojan war Idomeneus landed in Crete, Leucus drove him out.[3] These were the earlier contrivances of Nauplius; but afterwards, when he learned that the Greeks were on their way home to their native countries, he kindled the beacon fire on Mount Caphereus, which is now called Xylophagus; and there the Greeks, standing in shore in the belief that it was a harbour, were cast away.

that poem there occurs merely a mention of "the storm at the Capherian Rocks." See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 53. The wrecker Nauplius was the subject of a tragedy by Sophocles. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 80 *sqq.*

[1] As to the death of Palamedes, see above, *Epitome*, iii. 8.

[2] This passage, down to the end of § 12, is quoted with some slight verbal changes, but without citing his authority, by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 384–386; compare *id.* on *v.* 1093.

[3] See Appendix, "The vow of Idomeneus."

12 Νεοπτόλεμος δὲ μείνας ἐν Τενέδῳ δύο ἡμέρας ὑποθήκαις τῆς Θέτιδος εἰς Μολοσσοὺς πεζῇ ἀπῆει μετὰ Ἕλενου, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀποθανόντα Φοίνικα θάπτει, καὶ νικήσας μάχῃ Μολοσσοὺς βασιλεύει, καὶ ἐξ Ἀνδρομάχης γεννᾷ Μολοσσόν.
13 Ἕλενος δὲ κτίσας ἐν τῇ Μολοσσίᾳ πόλιν κατοικεῖ, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ Νεοπτόλεμος εἰς γυναῖκα τὴν μητέρα Δηιδάμειαν. Πηλέως δὲ ἐκ Φθίας ἐκβληθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀκαστου παίδων καὶ ἀποθαν-

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[1] Compare Hagias, *Returns*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 53; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 902, quoting "Apollodorus and the rest." According to Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 166), it was the soothsayer Helenus who, foreseeing the shipwreck of the Greek leaders, warned Neoptolemus to return home by land; hence in gratitude for this benefit Neoptolemus at his death bequeathed Andromache to Helenus to be his wife (Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 297). Neoptolemus was on friendly terms with Helenus, because the seer had revealed to the Greeks the means by which Troy could be taken, and because in particular he had recommended the fetching of Neoptolemus himself from Scyros. See above, *Epitome*, v. 10. A different tradition is recorded by Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* iii. 189, p. 1463. He says that Neoptolemus sailed across the sea to Thessaly and there burned his ships by the advice of Thetis; after which, being directed by the soothsayer Helenus to settle wherever he should find a house with foundations of iron, walls of wood, and roof of wool, he marched inland till he came to the lake Pambotis in Epirus, where he fell in with some people camping under blankets supported by spears, of which the blades were stuck into the earth. Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* iii. 188, who adds that, "having laid waste Molossia, he begot Molossus by Andromache, and from Molossus is descended the race of the kings of Molossia, as Eratosthenes relates." The lake Pambotis is believed to be what is now called the lake of Joannina, near which Dodona was situated. Pausanias (i. 11. 1) mentions that Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus) settled in Epirus "in

After remaining in Tenedos two days at the advice of Thetis, Neoptolemus set out for the country of the Molossians by land with Helenus, and on the way Phoenix died, and Neoptolemus buried him;[1] and having vanquished the Molossians in battle he reigned as king and begat Molossus on Andromache. And Helenus founded a city in Molossia and inhabited it, and Neoptolemus gave him his mother Deidamia to wife.[2] And when Peleus was expelled from Phthia by the sons of Acastus[3] and died, Neoptolemus

compliance with the oracles of Helenus," and that he had Molossus, Pielus, and Pergamus by Andromache.

[2] As to Deidamia, mother of Neoptolemus, see above, iii. 13. 8. The marriage of Helenus to Deidamia appears not to be mentioned by any other ancient writer.

[3] According to Euripides (*Troades*, 1126–1130), while Neoptolemus was still at Troy, he heard that his grandfather Peleus had been expelled by Acastus; hence he departed for home in haste, taking Andromache with him. The Scholiast on this passage of Euripides (*v.* 1128) says that Peleus was expelled by Acastus's two sons, Archander and Architeles, and that the exiled king, going to meet his grandson Neoptolemus, was driven by a storm to the island of Cos, where he was entertained by a certain Molon and died. As to an early connexion between Thessaly and Cos, see W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos*, pp. 344 *sqq.* A different and much more detailed account of the exile of Peleus is furnished by Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, vi. 7–9. According to it, when Neoptolemus was refitting his shattered ships in Molossia, he heard that Peleus had been deposed and expelled by Acastus. Hastening to the aid of his aged grandfather, he found him hiding in a dark cave on the shore of one of the Sepiades Islands, where he eagerly scanned every passing sail in hopes that one of them would bring his grandson to his rescue. By disguising himself Neoptolemus contrived to attack and kill Acastus's two sons, Menalippus and Plisthenes, when they were out hunting. Afterwards, disguising himself as a Trojan captive, he lured Acastus himself to the cave and would have slain him there,

ὄντος, Νεοπτόλεμος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ πατρὸς
14 παρέλαβε. καὶ μανέντος Ὀρέστου ἁρπάζει τὴν
ἐκείνου γυναῖκα Ἑρμιόνην καταγγυημένην αὐτῷ
πρότερον ἐν Τροίᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν Δελφοῖς ὑπὸ

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if it had not been for the intercession of Thetis, who had opportunely arrived from the sea to visit her old husband Peleus. Happy at his escape, Acastus resigned the kingdom on the spot to Neoptolemus, and that hero at once took possession of the realm in company with his grandfather, his divine grandmother Thetis, and the companions of his voyage. This romantic narrative may be based on a lost Greek tragedy, perhaps on the *Peleus* of Sophocles, a play in which the dramatist appears to have dealt with the fortunes of Peleus in his old age. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 140 *sqq.* The statement of Dictys Cretensis that Peleus took refuge in one of the Sepiades Islands suggests that in the scholium on Euripides (see) the name Ieos should be read instead of Cos, as has been argued by several scholars (A. C. Pearson, *op. cit.* ii. 141); for Ieos was a small island near Euboea (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἰεός), and would be a much more natural place of refuge for Peleus than the far more distant island of Cos. Moreover, we have the positive affirmation of the poet Antipater of Sidon that Peleus was buried in Ieos (*Anthologia Palatina*, vii. 2. 9 *sq.*). The connexion of Peleus with the Sepiades Islands is further supported by Euripides; for in his play *Andromache* (*vv.* 1253–1269) he tells how Thetis bids her old husband Peleus tarry in a cave of these islands, till she should come with a band of Nereids to fetch him away, that he might dwell with her as a god for ever in the depths of the sea. In the same play (*vv.* 22 *sq.*) Euripides says that Neoptolemus refused to accept the sceptre of Pharsalia in the lifetime of his grandfather Peleus.

[1] In this passage Apollodorus appears to follow the account given by Euripides in his *Andromache*, 967–981. According to that account, Menelaus gave his daughter Hermione in marriage to her cousin Orestes, the son of Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra. But in the Trojan war he afterwards promised the hand of Hermione to Neoptolemus, if Neoptolemus should succeed in capturing Troy. Accordingly on his return

succeeded to his father's kingdom. And when Orestes went mad, Neoptolemus carried off his wife Hermione, who had previously been betrothed to him in Troy[1]; and for that reason he was slain by Orestes

from the war Neoptolemus claimed his bride from her husband Orestes, who was then haunted and maddened by the Furies of his murdered mother Clytaemnestra. Orestes protested, but in vain; Neoptolemus insolently reproached him with his crime of matricide and with the unseen avengers of blood by whom he was pursued. So Orestes was obliged to yield up his wife to his rival, but he afterwards took his revenge by murdering Neoptolemus at Delphi. This version of the legend is followed also by Hyginus (*Fab.* 123). An obvious difficulty is presented by the narrative; for if Menelaus had given his daughter in marriage to Orestes, how could he afterwards have promised her to Neoptolemus in the lifetime of her first husband? This difficulty was met by another version of the story, which alleged that Hermione was betrothed or married to Orestes by her grandfather Tyndareus in the absence of her father Menelaus, who was then away at the Trojan war; that meantime, in ignorance of this disposal of his daughter, Menelaus had promised her hand to Neoptolemus before Troy, and that on his return from the war Neoptolemus took her by force from Orestes. See Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* iv. 3, p. 1479; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* iv. 4; Ovid, *Heroides*, viii. 31 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 330, compare *id.* on *v.* 297. According to the tragic poet Philocles, not only had Hermione been given in marriage by Tyndareus to Orestes, but she was actually with child by Orestes when her father afterwards married her to Neoptolemus. See Scholiast on Euripides, *Andromache*, 32. This former marriage of Hermione to Orestes, before she became the wife of Neoptolemus, is recognized by Virgil (*Aen.* iii. 330), and Ovid (*Heroides*, viii. *passim*), but it is unknown to Homer. On the other hand, Homer records that Menelaus betrothed Hermione to Neoptolemus at Troy, and celebrated the marriage after his return to Sparta (*Od.* iv. 1–9). Sophocles wrote a tragedy *Hermione*, the plot of which seems to have resembled that of the *Andromache* of Euripides. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 141 *sqq.* Euripides does not appear to have been consistent in his view that

Ὀρέστου κτείνεται. ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτόν φασι παραγενόμενον εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπαιτεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα δίκας καὶ σιλλᾶν τὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ τὸν νεὼν ἐμπιμπράναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ Μαχαιρέως [1] τοῦ Φωκέως ἀναιρεθῆναι.

[1] Μαχαιρέως Wagner : βαχαιρέως E.

Neoptolemus forcibly deprived Orestes of Hermione and married her himself: for in his play *Orestes* (pr. 1653–1657) he makes Apollo prophesy to Orestes that he shall wed Hermione, but that Neoptolemus shall never do so.

[1] The murder of Neoptolemus at Delphi, as Apollodorus observes, was variously related. According to Euripides, Neoptolemus paid two visits to Delphi. On the first occasion he went to claim redress from Apollo, who had shot his father Achilles at Troy (see above, *Epitome*, v. 3). On the second occasion he went to excuse himself to the god for the rashness and impiety of which he had been guilty in calling the deity to account for the murder; and it was then that Orestes, enraged at having been robbed of his wife Hermione by Neoptolemus, waylaid and murdered his rival in the temple of Apollo, the fatal blow being struck, however, not by Orestes but by "a Delphian man." See Euripides, *Andromache*, 49–55, 1086–1165; compare *id. Orestes*, 1656 *sq.* This is the version of the story which Apollodorus appears to prefer. It is accepted also by Hyginus (*Fab.* 123), Velleius Paterculus (i. 1. 3), Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 297 and 330), and somewhat ambiguously by Dictys Cretensis (*Bellum Troianum*, vi. 12 *sq.*). The murder of Neoptolemus by Orestes is mentioned, but without any motive assigned, by Heliodorus ii. 34) and Justin (xvii. 3. 7). A different account is given by Pindar. He says that Neoptolemus went to consult the god at Delphi, taking with him first fruit offerings of the Trojan spoil; that there he was stabbed to death by a man in a brawl concerning the flesh of the victim, and that after death he was supposed to dwell within the sacred precinct and to preside over the processions and sacrifices in honour of heroes. See Pindar, *Nem.* vii. 34 (50)–47 (70); compare *id. Paean*, vi. 117 *sqq.*, ed. Sandys. The Scholiast on the former of these passages of Pindar, verse

at Delphi. But some say that he went to Delphi to demand satisfaction from Apollo for the death of his father, and that he rifled the votive offerings and set fire to the temple, and was on that account slain by Machaereus the Phocian.[1]

42 (62), explains the brawl by saying that it was the custom of the Delphians to appropriate (ἁρπάζειν) the sacrifices; that Neoptolemus attempted to prevent them from taking possession of his offerings, and that in the squabble the Delphians despatched him with their swords. This explanation seems to be due to Pherecydes, for a Scholiast on Euripides (*Orestes*, 1655) quotes the following passage from that early historian: "When Neoptolemus married Hermione, daughter of Menelaus, he went to Delphi to inquire about offspring; for he had no children by Hermione. And when at the oracle he saw the Delphians scrambling for (διαρπάζοντας) the flesh, he attempted to take it from them. But their priest Machaereus killed him and buried him under the threshold of the temple." This seems to have been the version of the story followed by Pausanias, for he mentions the hearth at Delphi on which the priest of Apollo slew Neoptolemus (x. 24. 4), and elsewhere he says that "the Pythian priestess ordered the Delphians to kill Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus), son of Achilles" (i. 13. 9; compare iv. 17. 4). That the slayer of Neoptolemus was called Machaereus is mentioned also by a Scholiast on Euripides (*Andromache*, 53) and by Strabo (ix. 3. 9, p. 421), who says that Neoptolemus was killed "because he demanded satisfaction from the god for the murder of his father, or, more probably, because he had made an attack on the sanctuary." Indeed, Asclepiades, in his work *Tragodoumena*, wrote as follows: "About his death almost all the poets agree that he was killed by Machaereus and buried at first under the threshold of the temple, but that afterwards Menelaus came and took up his body, and made his grave in the precinct. He says that Machaereus was a son of Daetas." See Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* vii. 42 (62). The story that Neoptolemus came to Delphi to plunder the sanctuary, which is noticed by Apollodorus and preferred by Strabo, is mentioned by Pausanias (x. 7. 1) and a Scholiast on Pindar (*Nem.* vii. 58, Boeckh). It is probably

E 15 | "Οτι πλανηθέντες[1] Ἕλληνες ἄλλοι ἀλλαχοῦ κατάραντες κατοικοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν εἰς Λιβύην, οἱ δὲ εἰς Ἰταλίαν, εἰς Σικελίαν ἕτεροι, τινὲς δὲ πρὸς τὰς πλησίον Ἰβηρίας νήσους, ἄλλοι παρὰ τὸν Σαγγάριον ποταμόν· εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ Κύπρον
S ᾠκησαν. | τῶν δὲ ναναγησάντων περὶ τὸν Καφηρέα[2] ἄλλος ἀλλαχῆ φέρεται, Γουνεὺς μὲν εἰς Λιβύην, Ἄντιφος δὲ ὁ Θεσσαλοῦ εἰς Πελασγοὺς καὶ <τὴν> χώραν[3] κατασχὼν Θεσσαλίαν ἐκάλεσεν, ὁ δὲ Φιλοκτήτης πρὸς Ἰταλίαν εἰς Καμπανούς,

[1] "Οτι πλανηθέντες . . . Κύπρον ᾠκησαν. This passage is from E: the passage immediately following τῶν δὲ ναναγησάντων . . . καὶ ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ) is from S. The two passages are perhaps duplicate versions of the same passage in the original unabridged work of Apollodorus: but as they supplement each other, each giving details which are omitted by the other, I have printed them consecutively in the text. Wagner prints them in parallel columns to indicate that they are duplicates.

[2] Καφηρέα Kerameus: κηφέα S.

[3] <τὴν> χώραν Wagner (comparing Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 911, καὶ τὴν χώραν κατασχών).

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not inconsistent with the story that he went to demand satisfaction from, or to inflict punishment on, the god for the death of his father; for the satisfaction or punishment would naturally take the shape of a distress levied on the goods and chattels of the defaulting deity. The tradition that the slain Neoptolemus was buried under the threshold of Apollo's temple is remarkable and, so far as I remember, unique in Greek legend. The statement that the body was afterwards taken up and buried within the precinct agrees with the observation of Pausanias (x. 24. 6) that "quitting the temple and turning to the left you come to an enclosure, inside of which is the grave of Neoptolemus, son of Achilles. The Delphians offer sacrifice to him annually as to a hero." From Pindar (*Nem.* vii. 44 (65) *sqq.*) we learn that Neoptolemus even enjoyed a pre-eminence over other heroes at

After their wanderings the Greeks landed and settled in various countries, some in Libya, some in Italy, others in Sicily, and some in the islands near Iberia, others on the banks of the Sangarius river; and some settled also in Cyprus. And of those that were shipwrecked at Caphereus, some drifted one way and some another.[1] Guneus went to Libya; Antiphus, son of Thessalus, went to the Pelasgians, and, having taken possession of the country, called it Thessaly. Philoctetes went to the Cam-

Delphi, being called on to preside over the processions and sacrifices in their honour. The Aenianes of Thessaly used to send a grand procession and costly sacrifices to Delphi every fourth year in honour of Neoptolemus. The ceremony fell at the same time as the Pythian games. See Heliodorus, *Aethiop.* ii. 34–iii. 6. It is a little difficult to understand how a man commonly accused of flagrant impiety and sacrilege should have been raised to such a pitch of glory at the very shrine which he was said to have attacked and robbed. The apparent contradiction might be more intelligible if we could suppose that, as has been suggested, Neoptolemus was publicly sacrificed as a scapegoat, perhaps by being stoned to death, as seems to have been the fate of the human victims at the Thargelia, whose sacrifice was justified by a legend that the first of their number had stolen some sacred cups of Apollo. See Harpocration, *s.v. φάρμακος*; and as to the suggestion that Neoptolemus may have been sacrificed as a scapegoat, see J. Toepffer, "Thargelienbräuche," *Beiträge zur griechischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 132 *sq.*, who points out that according to Euripides (*Andromache*, 1127 *sqq.*) Neoptolemus was stoned as well as stabbed at the altar of Apollo. As to the custom of burying the dead under a threshold, see *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 13 *sq.*

[1] The wanderings described in the remainder of this paragraph, except those of Agapenor, are resumed and told somewhat more fully in the following three paragraphs (15a, 15b, 15c), which do not occur in our text of the *Epitome*, but are conjecturally restored to it from the scholia on Lycophron of Tzetzes, who probably had before him the full text of Apollodorus, and not merely the *Epitome*.

Φείδιππος μετὰ τῶν Κῴων ἐν Ἄνδρῳ κατῴκησεν, Ἀγαπήνωρ ἐν Κύπρῳ, καὶ ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ.

TZ 15a <902: Ἀπολλόδωρος δέ[1] καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οὕτω φασί· Γοινεὺς εἰς Λιβύην λιπὼν τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ναῦς ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ Κίνυφα[2] ποταμὸν κατοικεῖ. Μέγης[3] δὲ καὶ Πρόθοος ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ περὶ τὸν Καφηρέα σὺν πολλοῖς ἑτέροις διαφθείρεται . . . τοῦ δὲ Προθόου περὶ τὸν Καφηρέα ναυαγήσαντος, οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ Μάγνητες εἰς Κρήτην ῥιφέντες ᾤκησαν.>

15b <911: Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰλίου πόρθησιν Μενεσθεὺς Φείδιππός τε καὶ Ἄντιφος καὶ οἱ Ἐλεφήνορος[4] καὶ Φιλοκτήτης μέχρι Μίμαντος κοινῇ ἔπλευσαν. εἶτα Μενεσθεὺς μὲν εἰς Μῆλον ἐλθὼν βασιλεύει, τοῦ ἐκεῖ βασιλέως Πολυάνακτος τελευτήσαντος. Ἄντιφος δὲ ὁ Θεσσαλοῦ εἰς Πελασγοὺς ἐλθὼν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατασχὼν Θεσσαλίαν ἐκάλεσε. Φείδιππος δὲ μετὰ Κῴων ἐξωσθεὶς πεμπτὴν Ἄνδρον,[5] εἶτα τὴν Κύπρον ἐκεῖ κατῴκησεν. Ἐλεφήνορος δὲ ὑπ' Αἰνείου ἐν Τροίᾳ, οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκριφέντες περὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον Ἀπολλωνίαν ᾤκησαν τὴν ἐν Ἠπείρῳ. καὶ οἱ τοῦ Τληπολέμου προσίσχουσι

[1] The following three paragraphs are extracted from the *Scholia on Lycophron* of Tzetzes, who seems to have borrowed them from Apollodorus.

[2] Κίνυφα Tzetzes; Κίνπα Wagner. Either form is legitimate. See Pape, *Wörterbuch der griech. Eigennamen*, *s.v.* Κίνυψ, p. 663.

[3] Μέγης Stichle, Wagner. The MSS. of Tzetzes read Μέγας or Μάγνητες.

[4] οἱ Ἐλεφήνορος. Some MSS. of Tzetzes read Ἐλεφήνωρ.

[5] τὴν Ἄνδρον Wagner: τὸν ἀδρίαν Tzetzes.

[1] Compare Pausanias, viii. 5. 2, who says that, driven by the storm to Cyprus, Agapenor founded Paphos and built the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Old Paphos. Compare Aristotle, *Frag.* 30 (16), in Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*[3], ii. 654.

panians in Italy ; Phidippus with the Coans settled in Andros, Agapenor in Cyprus,[1] and others elsewhere.

Apollodorus and the rest[2] say as follows. Guneus left his own ships, and having come to the Cinyps river in Libya he dwelt there.[3] But Meges and Prothous, with many others, were cast away at Caphereus in Euboea[4] . . . and when Prothous was shipwrecked at Caphereus, the Magnesians with him drifted to Crete and settled there.

After the sack of Ilium,[5] Menestheus, Phidippus and Antiphus, and the people of Elephenor, and Philoctetes sailed together as far as Minas. Then Menestheus went to Melos and reigned as king, because the king there, Polyanax, had died. And Antiphus the son of Thessalus went to the Pelasgians, and having taken possession of the country he called it Thessaly.[6] Phidippus with the Coans was driven first to Andros, and then to Cyprus, where he settled. Elephenor died in Troy,[7] but his people were cast away in the Ionian gulf and inhabited Apollonia in Epirus. And the people of Tlepolemus touched

[2] This paragraph is quoted from Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 902.

[3] According to another account, Guneus was drowned at sea. See Aristotle, *Peplos*, 32 (37), in Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*[3], ii. 654.

[4] Epitaphs on these two drowned men are ascribed to Aristotle, *Peplos*, 25 (19) and 28 (38). See Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*[3], ii. 653, 654. Meges was leader of the Dulichians, and Prothous was leader of the Magnesians. See *Epitome*, iii. 12 and 14.

[5] This paragraph is quoted from Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 911.

[6] Compare Strabo, ix. 5. 23, p. 444.

[7] Elephenor was killed in battle by Agenor. See Homer, *Il.* iv. 463–472. Compare Aristotle, *Peplos*, 33 (4), in Bergk's *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*[3], ii. 654.

Κρήτῃ, εἶτα ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἐξωσθέντες περὶ τὰς Ἰβηρικὰς νήσους ὤκησαν. . . . οἱ τοῦ Πρωτεσιλάου εἰς Πελλήνην[1] ἀπεωρίφησαν πλησίον πεδίου Κανάστρου. Φιλοκτήτης δὲ ἐξώσθη εἰς Ἰταλίαν πρὸς Καμπανοὺς καὶ πολεμήσας Λευκανοὺς πλησίον Κρότωνος καὶ Θουρίου Κρίμισσαν κατοικεῖ· καὶ παυθεὶς τῆς ἄλης Ἀλαίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν κτίζει, ᾧ καὶ τὸ τόξον αὐτοῦ ἀνέθηκεν, ὡς φησιν Εὐφορίων.>

15c ~921 : Ναύαιθος] ποταμός ἐστιν Ἰταλίας· ἐκληθη δὲ οὕτω κατὰ μὲν Ἀπολλόδωρον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν αἱ Λαομέ-

[1] εἰς Πελλήνην omitted by Wagner in his edition of Apollodorus, probably by mistake. For Πελλήνην we should perhaps read Παλλήνην. See exegetical note.

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[1] Canastrum, or Canastra, is the extreme southern cape of the peninsula of Pallene (Pellene) in Macedonia. See Herodotus, vii. 123; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 599, with the Scholiast; Strabo, vii. frag. 25, p. 330 (vol. ii. p. 462, ed. Meineke); Apostolius, *Cent.* ii. 20; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 526; Livy, xxx. 45. 15, xliv. 11. 3.

[2] It is said that in a sedition Philoctetes was driven from his city of Meliboea in Thessaly (Homer, *Il.* ii. 717 *sq.*), and fled to southern Italy, where he founded the cities of Petilia, Old Crimissa, and Chone, between Croton and Thurii. See Strabo, vi. 1. 3, p. 254, who, after recording the foundation of Petilia and Old Crimissa by Philoctetes, proceeds as follows: "And Apollodorus, after mentioning Philoctetes in his *Book of the Ships*, says that some people relate how, on arriving in the country of Croton, he founded Crimissa on the headland and above it the city of Chone, from which the Chonians hereabout took their name, and how men sent by him to Sicily fortified Segesta near Eryx with the help of Aegestes the Trojan." The book from which Strabo makes this quotation is not the *Library* of our author, but the *Catalogue*

at Crete; then they were driven out of their course by winds and settled in the Iberian islands. . . . The people of Protesilaus were cast away on Pellene near the plain of Canastrum.[1] And Philoctetes was driven to Campania in Italy, and after making war on the Lucanians, he settled in Crimissa, near Croton and Thurium[2]; and, his wanderings over, he founded a sanctuary of Apollo the Wanderer (*Alaios*), to whom also he dedicated his bow, as Euphorion says.[3]

Navaethus is a river of Italy.[4] It was called so, according to Apollodorus and the rest, because after the capture of Ilium the daughters of Laomedon, the

of the Ships, a work on the Homeric Catalogue by the Athenan grammarian Apollodorus. According to Strabo (viii. 3. 6, p. 339), Apollodorus borrowed most of his materials for this work from Demetrius of Scepsis. For the fragments of the work see Heyne's *Apollodorus* (Second Edition, 1803), vol. i. pp. 417 *sqq.*; *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, i. 453 *sqq.*

[3] Compare Aristotle, *Mirab. Auscult.* 107 (115): "It is said that Philoctetes is worshipped by the Sybarites; for on his return from Troy he settled in the territory of Croton at the place called Macalla, which they say is distant a hundred and twenty furlongs, and they relate that he dedicated the bow of Hercules in the sanctuary of the Halian Apollo. But they say that in the time of their sovereignty the people of Croton fetched the bow from there and dedicated it in the sanctuary of Apollo in their country. It is said, too, that when he died he was buried beside the river Sybaris; for he had gone to the help of the Rhodians under Tlepolemus, who had been carried out of their course to these regions and had engaged in battle with the barbarous inhabitants of that country." This war with the barbarians is no doubt the "war on the Lucanians," in which Apollodorus, or at all events, Tzetzes here tells us that Philoctetes engaged after his arrival in Italy.

[4] This paragraph is quoted from Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 921.

δοντος θυγατέρες, Πριάμου δὲ ἀδελφαί,[1] Αἰθυλλα
Ἀστυόχη Μηδεσικάστη μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν αἰχμα-
λωτίδων ἐκεῖσε γεγονυῖαι τῆς Ἰταλίας, εὐλαβού-
μεναι τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι δουλείαν τὰ σκάφη
ἐνέπρησαν, ὅθεν ὁ ποταμὸς Ναύαιθος ἐκλήθη καὶ
αἱ γυναῖκες Ναυπρήστιδες· οἱ δὲ σὺν αὐταῖς
Ἕλληνες ἀπολέσαντες τὰ σκάφη ἐκεῖ κατῴκησαν.>
E 16 | Δημοφῶν δὲ[2] Θρᾳξὶ Βισάλταις μετ' ὀλίγων
νεῶν προσίσχει, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐρασθεῖσα Φυλλὶς ἡ
θυγάτηρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ προικὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ
συνευνάζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός. ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος
εἰς τὴν πατρίδα ἀπιέναι, πολλὰ δεηθεὶς ὁμόσας
ἀναστρέψειν ἀπέρχεται· καὶ Φυλλὶς αὐτὸν ἄχρι
τῶν Ἐννέα Ὁδῶν[3] λεγομένων προπέμπει καὶ
δίδωσιν αὐτῷ κίστην, εἰποῦσα ἱερὸν <τῆς> μητρὸς[4]
Ῥέας ἐνεῖναι, καὶ ταύτην μὴ ἀνοίγειν, εἰ μὴ ὅταν

[1] Πριάμου δὲ ἀδελφαί. These words are omitted, doubtless by accident, in Wagner's edition of Apollodorus

[2] The following story of the loves of Demophon and Phyllis is repeated by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 495 in a passage which to a great extent agrees verbally with the present passage of Apollodorus.

[3] Ἐννέα ὁδῶν Wagner (comparing Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 495): *ἐννεάδων* E.

[4] <τῆς> μητρὸς Wagner (comparing Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 495): *μητρὸς* E.

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[1] The same story is told by Strabo, who calls the river Neaethus (vi. 1. 12, p. 262) Stephanus Byzantius agrees with Apollodorus in giving Naxaethus (*Ναύαιθος*) as the form of the name Apollodorus derives the name from *ναῦς*, "a ship," and *αἴθω*, "to burn." Virgil tells a similar tale of the founding of Segesta or, as he calls it, Acesta in Sicily. See Virgil, *Aen.* v. 604–771.

[2] Demophon and his brother Acamas, the sons of Theseus, had gone to Troy to rescue their grandmother Aethra from

sisters of Priam, to wit, Aethylla, Astyoche, and Medesicaste, with the other female captives, finding themselves in that part of Italy, and dreading slavery in Greece, set fire to the vessels; whence the river was called Navaethus and the women were called Nauprestides; and the Greeks who were with the women, having lost the vessels, settled there.[1]

Demophon with a few ships put in to the land of the Thracian Bisaltians,[2] and there Phyllis, the king's daughter, falling in love with him, was given him in marriage by her father with the kingdom for her dower. But he wished to depart to his own country, and after many entreaties and swearing to return, he did depart. And Phyllis accompanied him as far as what are called the Nine Roads, and she gave him a casket, telling him that it contained a sacrament of Mother Rhea, and that he was not to open it until he

captivity. See above, *Epitome*, v. 22. The following story of the loves and sad fate of Demophon and Phyllis is told in almost the same words by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 495, except that for the name of Demophon he substitutes the name of his brother Acamas. Lucian also couples the names of Acamas and Phyllis (*De saltatione*, 40). A pretty story is told of the sad lovers by Servius. He says that Phyllis, despairing of the return of Demophon, hanged herself and was turned into a leafless almond tree; but that when Demophon came and embraced the trunk of the tree, it responded to his endearments by bursting into leaf; hence leaves, which had been called *petala* before were ever after called *phylla* in Greek. See Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* v. 10. Compare *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 51 and 146 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 159; Second Vatican Mythographer, 214). The story is told in a less romantic form by Hyginus (*Fab.* 59, compare 243). He says that when Phyllis died for love, trees grew on her grave and mourned her death at the season when their leaves withered and fell.

17 ἀπελπίσῃ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνόδου.[1] Δημοφῶν δὲ ἐλθὼν εἰς Κύπρον ἐκεῖ κατῴκει. καὶ τοῦ τακτοῦ χρόνου διελθόντος Φυλλὶς ἀρὰς θεμένη κατὰ Δημοφῶντος ἑαυτὴν ἀναιρεῖ· Δημοφῶν δὲ τὴν κίστην ἀνοίξας φόβῳ κατασχεθεὶς[2] ἄνεισιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τοῦτον ἐλαύνων ἀπράκτως ἀπόλλυται· τοῦ γὰρ ἵππου σφαλέντος κατενεχθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸ ξίφος ἔπεσεν. οἱ δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ κατῴκησαν ἐν Κύπρῳ.

18 Ποδαλείριος δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐχρᾶτο ποῦ κατοικήσει· χρησμοῦ δὲ δοθέντος, εἰς ἣν πόλιν τοῦ περιέχοντος οὐρανοῦ πεσόντος οὐδὲν πείσεται,[3] τῆς Καρικῆς Χερρονήσου τὸν πέριξ οὐρανοῦ κυκλούμενον ὄρεσι τόπον κατῴκησεν.

19 Ἄμφιλοχος δὲ ὁ Ἀλκμαίωνος, κατά τινας ὕστερον παραγενόμενος εἰς Τροίαν, κατὰ [τὸν][4] χειμῶνα ἀπερρίφη πρὸς Μόψον, καί, ὥς τινες λέγουσιν, ὑπὲρ τῆς Βασιλείας μονομαχοῦντες ἔκτειναν ἀλλήλους.

[1] τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνόδου E: τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἄνοδον Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 495.

[2] φόβῳ κατασχεθεὶς E: φάσματι κρατηθεὶς Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 495.

[3] οὐδὲν πείσεται E. Wagner conjectures οὐδὲν <δεινὸν> πείσεται, comparing Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1047, οὐδὲν δεινὸν πείσεται.

[4] κατὰ [τὸν] χειμῶνα As Wagner observes, the article should perhaps be omitted, as in the quotation of the passage by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 440, κατὰ χειμῶνα ἀπερρίφη πρὸς Μόψον, who cites Apollodorus by name. Yet perhaps our author was thinking of the famous storm that overtook the Greeks on their return from Troy and wrecked so many gallant ships.

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[1] The same story is told, nearly in the same words, by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 1047), who probably copied Apollodorus. As to the settlement of Podalirius in Caria,

should have abandoned all hope of returning to her. And Demophon went to Cyprus and dwelt there. And when the appointed time was past, Phyllis called down curses on Demophon and killed herself; and Demophon opened the casket, and, being struck with fear, he mounted his horse and galloping wildly met his end; for, the horse stumbling, he was thrown and fell on his sword. But his people settled in Cyprus.

Podalirius went to Delphi and inquired of the oracle where he should settle; and on receiving an oracle that he should settle in the city where, if the encompassing heaven were to fall, he would suffer no harm, he settled in that place of the Carian Chersonese which is encircled by mountains all round the horizon.[1]

Amphilochus son of Alcmaeon, who, according to some, arrived later at Troy, was driven in the storm to the home of Mopsus; and, as some say, they fought a single combat for the kingdom, and slew each other.[2]

compare Pausanias, iii. 26. 10; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Σύρνα. Podalirius was worshipped as a hero in Italy. He had a shrine at the foot of Mount Drium in Daunia, and the seer Calchas was worshipped in a shrine on the top of the same mountain, where his worshippers sacrificed black rams and slept in the skins of the victims for the purpose of receiving revelations in dreams. See Strabo, vi. 3. 9, p. 284; Lycophron, *Cassandra*, 1047 *sqq.* Hence Lycophron said that Podalirius was buried in Italy, and for so saying he was severely taken to task by his learned but crabbed commentator Tzetzes, who roundly accused him of lying (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 1047).

[2] This passage is quoted from Apollodorus, with the author's name, by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 440-442), who says that according to the usual tradition Amphilochus and Mopsus had gone together to Cilicia after the capture of

20 Λοκροὶ δὲ μόλις τὴν ἑαυτῶν κατα\αβόντες, ἐπεὶ μετὰ τρίτον ἔτος τὴν Λοκρίδα[1] κατέσχε φθορά, δέχονται χρησμὸν ἐξιλάσασθαι τὴν ἐν Ἰλίῳ Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ δύο παρθένους πέμπειν ἱκετίδας ἐπὶ ἔτη χίλια. καὶ λαγχάνουσι πρῶται Περίβοια καὶ
21 Κλεοπάτρα. αὗται δὲ εἰς Τροίαν ἀφικόμεναι, διωκόμεναι παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν κατέχονται· καὶ τῇ μὲν θεᾷ οὐ προσήρχοντο, τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν ἔσαιρόν[2] τε καὶ ἔρραινον· ἐκτὸς δὲ τοῦ νεὼ οὐκ ἐξῆεσαν, κεκαρμέναι δὲ ἦσαν καὶ μονοχίτωνες

[1] Λοκρίδα Wagner (comparing Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1141): Λοκρίαν E.

[2] ἔσαιρον Wagner comparing Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1141): ἔσηρον E.

Troy. This statement is confirmed by the testimony of Strabo (xiv. 5. 16, pp. 675 *sq.*), who tells us that Amphilochus and Mopsus came from Troy and founded Mallus in Cilicia. The dispute between Amphilochus and Mopsus is related more fully both by Tzetzes and Strabo (*ll.cc.*). According to them, Amphilochus wished to go for a time to Argos (probably Amphilochian Argos; see above, iii. 7. 7). So he departed after entrusting the kingdom or priesthood to Mopsus in his absence. Dissatisfied with the state of affairs at Argos, he returned in a year and reclaimed the kingdom or priesthood from Mopsus. But, acting on the principle *Beati possidentes*, the viceroy refused to cede the crown or the mitre to its proper owner; accordingly they had recourse to the ordeal of battle, in which both combatants perished. Their bodies were buried in graves which could not be seen from each other; for the people built a tower between them, in order that the rivals, who had fought each other in life, might not scowl at each other in death. However, their rivalry did not prevent them working an oracle in partnership after their decease. In the second century of our era the oracle enjoyed the highest reputation for infallibility (Pausanias, i. 34. 3). The leading partner of the firm was apparently Amphilochus, for he is usually men-

The Locrians regained their own country with difficulty, and three years afterwards, when Locris was visited by a plague, they received an oracle bidding them to propitiate Athena at Ilium and to send two maidens as suppliants for a thousand years. The lot first fell on Periboea and Cleopatra. And when they came to Troy they were chased by the natives and took refuge in the sanctuary. And they did not approach the goddess, but swept and sprinkled the sanctuary; and they did not go out of the temple, and their hair was cropped, and they wore single garments

tioned alone in connexion with the oracle; Plutarch (*De defectu oraculorum*, 45) is the only ancient writer from whom we learn that Mopsus took an active share in the business, though Cicero mentions the partners together (*De divinatione*, i. 40. 88). According to Plutarch and Dio Cassius (lxxii. 7), the oracles were communicated in dreams; but Lucian says (*Philopseudes*, 38) that the inquirer wrote down his question on a tablet, which he handed to the prophet. The charge for one of these infallible communications was only two obols, or about twopence halfpenny. See Lucian, *Alexander*, 19; *id. Deorum concilium*, 12. The ancients seem to have been divided in opinion on the important question whether the oracular Amphilochus at Mallus was the son or the grandson of Amphiaraus. Apollodorus calls him the son of Alcmaeon, which would make him the grandson of Amphiaraus, for Alcmaeon was a son of Amphiaraus. But Tzetzes, in reporting what he describes as the usual version of the story, calls Amphilochus the son, not the grandson of Amphiaraus (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 440-442). Compare Strabo, xiv. 1. 27, p. 642; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, xiv. 365–369. Lucian is inconsistent on the point; for while in one passage he calls Amphilochus the son of Amphiaraus (*Alexander*, 19), in another passage he speaks of him sarcastically as the noble son of an accursed matricide, by whom he means Alcmaeon (*Deorum concilium*, 12). Elsewhere Apollodorus mentions both Amphilochus, the son of Amphiaraus, and Amphilochus, the son of Alcmaeon. See above, iii. 7. 2 and 7.

22 καὶ ἀνυπόδετοι. τῶν δὲ πρώτων ἀποθανουσῶν ἄλλας ἔπεμπον· εἰσῆεσαν δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν νύκτωρ, ἵνα μὴ φανεῖσαι τοῦ τεμένους ἔξω φονεύ[1]ῶσι· μετέπειτα δὲ βρέφη μετὰ τροφῶν ἔπεμπον. χιλίων δὲ ἐτῶν παρελθόντων μετὰ τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον ἱκέτιδας ἐπαύσαντο πέμποντες.

ES 23 | Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ καταντήσας εἰς Μυκήνας μετὰ Κασάνδρας ἀναιρεῖται ὑπὸ Αἰγίσθου καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρας· δίδωσι γὰρ αὐτῷ χιτῶνα ἄχειρα καὶ ἀτράχηλον, καὶ τοῦτον ἐνδύομενος φονεύεται, καὶ βασιλεύει Μυκηνῶν Αἴγισθος· κτείνουσι δὲ καὶ

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[1] The story of the custom of propitiating Athena at Troy by sending two Locrian virgins to her every year is similarly told by Tzetzes, who adds some interesting particulars omitted by Apollodorus. From him we learn that when the maidens arrived, the Trojans met them and tried to catch them. If they caught the maidens, they killed them and burned their bones with the wood of wild trees which bore no fruit. Having done so, they threw the ashes from Mount Traron into the sea. But if the maidens escaped from their pursuers, they ascended secretly to the sanctuary of Athena and became her priestesses, sweeping and sprinkling the sacred precinct; but they might not approach the goddess, nor quit the sanctuary except by night. Tzetzes agrees with Apollodorus in describing the maidens during their term of service as barefoot, with cropped hair, and clad each in a single tunic. He refers to the Sicilian historian Timaeus as his authority for the statement that the custom was observed for a thousand years, and that it came to an end after the Phocian war (357–346 B.C.). See Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1141. The maidens were chosen by lot from the hundred noblest families in Locris (Polybius, xii. 5); and when they escaped death on landing, they served the goddess in the sanctuary for the term of their lives (Plutarch, *De sera numinis vindicta*, 12), or, at all events, till their successors arrived (Suidas, *s.v.* κατεγίμασαν). For other references to this very remarkable custom, which appears to be well

and no shoes. And when the first maidens died, they sent others; and they entered into the city by night, lest, being seen outside the precinct, they should be put to the sword; but afterwards they sent babes with their nurses. And when the thousand years were passed, after the Phocian war they ceased to send suppliants.[1]

After Agamemnon had returned to Mycenae with Cassandra, he was murdered by Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra; for she gave him a shirt without sleeves and without a neck, and while he was putting it on he was cut down, and Aegisthus reigned over Mycenae.[2] And they killed Cassandra

authenticated, see Strabo, xiii. 1. 40, *pp.* 600 *sq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiii. 66; Iamblichus, *De Pythagorica vita*, viii. 42; Suidas, *s.v.* ποινή (quoting Aelian); Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 41. Servius, in contradiction to our other authorities, says that only one maiden was sent annually. Strabo appears to affirm that the custom originated as late as the Persian period (τὰς δὲ Λοκρίδας πεμφθῆναι Περσῶν ἤδη κρατούντων συνέβη). This view is accepted by Clinton, who accordingly holds that the custom lasted from 559 B.C. to 346 B.C. (*Fasti Hellenici*, i. 134 *sq.*).

[2] As to the murder of Agamemnon, see Homer, *Od.* iii. 193 *sq.*, 303–305, iv. 529–537, xi. 404–434; Hagias, *Returns*, summarized by Proclus, in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 53; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 1379 *sqq.*; *id. Eumenides*, 631–635; Sophocles, *Electra*, 95–99; Euripides, *Electra*, 8–10; *id. Orestes*, 25 *sq.*; Pausanias, ii. 16. 6; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1108 and 1375; Hyginus, *Fab.* 117; Seneca, *Agamemnon*, 875–909; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* xi. 268; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 47, 126, 141 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 147; Second Vatican Mythographer, 147 and 202); Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, vi. 2. According to Homer and the author of the *Returns*, with whom Pausanias agrees, it was Aegisthus who killed Agamemnon; according to Aeschylus, it was Clytaemnestra. Sophocles and Euripides speak of the murder being perpetrated by the

24 Κασάνδραν. Ἡλέκτρα δὲ μία τῶν Ἀγαμέμνονος θυγατέρων Ὀρέστην τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκκλέπτει καὶ δίδωσι Στροφίῳ Φωκεῖ[1] τρέφειν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκτρέφει μετὰ Πυλάδου παιδὸς ἰδίου. τελειωθεὶς δὲ Ὀρέστης εἰς Δελφοὺς παραγίνεται καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐρωτᾷ,[2] εἰ τοὺς αὐτόχειρας τοῦ πατρὸς μετέλθοι.
25 τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιτρέποντος[3] ἀπέρχεται εἰς Μυκήνας[4] μετὰ Πυλάδου λαθραίως καὶ κτείνει[5] τήν τε μητέρα καὶ τὸν Αἴγισθον, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ μανίᾳ κατασχεθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἐρινύων[6] διωκόμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας παραγίνεται καὶ κρίνεται[7] ἐν Ἀρείῳ
S πάγῳ,[8] | ὡς μὲν λέγουσί τινες ὑπὸ Ἐρινύων, ὡς δέ τινες ὑπὸ Τυνδάρεω, ὡς δέ τινες ὑπὸ Ἠριγόνης τῆς Αἰγίσθου καὶ Κλυταιμήστρας, καὶ κριθεὶς ἴσων γενομένων τῶν ψήφων ἀπολύεται.

[1] Στροφίῳ Φωκεῖ E : Φωκεῖ Στροφίῳ S.
[2] καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐρωτᾷ S : κἀκεῖ ἐρωτᾷ E.
[3] τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιτρέποντος S : τοῦτο δ' ἐπιτραπεὶς E.
[4] ἀπέρχεται Μυκήνας E : ἀπερχόμενος εἰς Μυκήνας S.
[5] καὶ κτείνει τήν τε μητέρα καὶ τὸν Αἴγισθον E : τόν τε Αἴγισθον καὶ τὴν μητέρα κτείνει S.
[6] Ἐρινύων S : Ἐριννύων E.
[7] καὶ κρίνεται E : κρίνεται δὲ Ὀρέστης S.
[8] ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ S : ἐν Ἀρείῳ παγῷ καὶ ἀπολύεται E.

(two jointly. The sleeveless and neckless garment in which Clytaemnestra entangled her husband, while she cut him down is described with tragic grandiloquence and vagueness by Aeschylus, but more explicitly by later writers (Tzetzes, Seneca, Servius, and the Vatican Mythographers).

[1] As to the murder of Cassandra, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 421–423; Pindar, *Pyth.* xi. 19 (29) *sqq.*; Philostratus, *Imagines*, ii. 10; Athenaeus, xiii. 3, p. 556 c; Hyginus, *Fab.* 117. According to Hyginus, both Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus had a hand in the murder of Cassandra; according to the other writers, she was despatched by Clytaemnestra alone.

[2] Compare Pindar, *Pyth.* xi. 34 (52) *sqq.*; Sophocles, *Electra*, 11 *sqq.*; Euripides, *Electra*, 14 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab*

also.[1] But Electra, one of Agamemnon's daughters, smuggled away her brother Orestes and gave him to Strophius, the Phocian, to bring up; and he brought him up with Pylades, his own son.[2] And when Orestes was grown up, he repaired to Delphi and asked the god whether he should take vengeance on his father's murderers. The god gave him leave, so he departed secretly to Mycenae in company with Pylades, and killed both his mother and Aegisthus.[3] And not long afterwards, being afflicted with madness and pursued by the Furies, he repaired to Athens and was tried in the Areopagus. He is variously said to have been brought to trial by the Furies, or by Tyndareus, or by Erigone, daughter of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra; and the votes at his trial being equal he was acquitted.[4]

117. Pindar tells how, after the murder of his father Agamemnon, the youthful Orestes was conveyed to the aged Strophius at the foot of Parnassus; but he does not say who rescued the child and conveyed him thither. According to Sophocles and Euripides, it was an old retainer of the family who thus saved Orestes, but Sophocles says that the old man had received the child from the hands of Electra. Hyginus, in agreement with Apollodorus, relates how, after the murder of Agamemnon, Electra took charge of (*sustulit*) her infant brother Orestes and committed him to the care of Strophius in Phocis.

[3] This vengeance for the murder of Agamemnon is the theme of three extant Greek tragedies, the *Choephori* of Aeschylus, the *Electra* of Sophocles, and the *Electra* of Euripides. It was related by Hagias in his epic, the *Returns*, as we learn from the brief summary of Proclus (*Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 53). Compare Pindar, *Pyth.* xi. 36 (55) *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 119. Homer briefly mentions the murder of Aegisthus by Orestes (*Od.* i. 29 *sq.*, 298–300, iii. 306 *sqq.*); he does not expressly mention, but darkly hints at, the murder of Clytaemnestra by her son (*Od.* iii. 309 *sq.*).

[4] The trial and acquittal of Orestes in the court of the Areopagus at Athens is the subject of Aeschylus's tragedy,

ES 26 | Ἑρμείᾳ[1] δὲ αὐτῷ, πῶς ἂν ἀπαλλαγείη τῆς
νόσου, ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν, εἰ τὸ ἐν Ταύροις ξόανον μετα-
S κομίσειεν.[2] | οἱ δὲ Ταῦροι μοῖραί εἰσι Σκυθῶν, οἳ
τοὺς ξένους φονεύουσι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν <πῦρ>[3]
ῥίπτουσι. τοῦτο ἦν ἐν τῷ τεμένει διά τινος πέτρας
ES 27 ἀναφερόμενον ἐξ Ἅιδου. | παραγενόμενος οὖν εἰς

[1] For ἑρμείᾳ we should perhaps read χρυσείῳ.

[2] ἑρμείᾳ S . . . ξόανον μετακομίσειεν S : καὶ καυδάνει χρησμὸν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς νόσου, εἰ τὸ ἐν Ταύροις μετακομίσοι. βρέτας E.

[3] εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν <πῦρ> ῥίπτουσι Herwerden (*Mnemosyne*, xx. (1892), p. 200) (compare Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 626, πῦρ ἱερόν) : εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ῥίπτουσι S, Wagner.

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the *Eumenides*, where the poet similarly represents the matricide as acquitted because the votes were equal (verses 752 *sq.*). The *Parian Chronicle* also records the acquittal on the same ground, and dates it in the reign of Demophon, king of Athens. See *Marmor Parium*, 10 *sq.* (*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, i. 546). Compare Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 940-967, 1469-1472; *id. Orestes*, 1648-1652; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1374; Pausanias, i. 28. 5, viii. 34. 4; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Troianum*, vi. 4. In the *Eumenides* the accusers of Orestes are the Furies. According to the Parian Chronicler, it was Erigone, the daughter of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra, who instituted the prosecution for the murder of her father; the chronicler does not mention the murder of Clytaemnestra as an article in the indictment of Orestes. According to the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* (p. 42, *s.v.* Αἰώρα), the prosecution was conducted at Athens jointly by Erigone and her grandfather Tyndareus, and when it failed, Erigone hanged herself. Peloponnesian antiquaries, reported by Pausanias (viii. 34. 4), alleged that the accuser was not Tyndareus, who was dead, but Perilaus, a cousin of Clytaemnestra. According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 119), Orestes was accused by Tyndareus before the people of Mycenae, but was suffered to retire into banishment for the sake of his father. As to the madness of Orestes, caused by the Furies of his murdered mother, see Euripides, *Orestes*, 931 *sqq.*; Pausanias, iii. 22. 1, viii. 34. 1–4. The incipient symptoms of

When he inquired how he should be rid of his disorder, the god answered that he would be rid of it if he should fetch the wooden image that was in the land of the Taurians.[1] Now the Taurians are a part of the Scythians, who murder strangers[2] and throw them into the sacred fire, which was in the precinct, being wafted up from Hades through a certain rock.[3] So when Orestes was come with

madness, showing themselves immediately after the commission of the crime, are finely described by Aeschylus (*Choephori*, 1021 *sqq.*).

[1] As to the oracle, compare Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 77–92, 970–978; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1374; Hyginus, *Fab.* 120.

[2] The Taurians inhabited the Crimea. As to their custom of sacrificing castaways and strangers, see Herodotus, iv. 103; Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 34–41; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 44. 7; Pausanias, i. 43. 1; *Orphica, Argon.* 1075 *sq.*, ed Abel; Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, iii. 2. 45–58; Mela, ii. 11; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 8. 34. According to Herodotus, these Taurians sacrificed human beings to a Virgin Goddess, whom they identified with Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon. The victims were shipwrecked persons and any Greeks on whom they could lay hands. They were slaughtered by being knocked on the head with a club, after which their heads were set up on stakes and their bodies thrown down a precipice into the sea or buried in the ground; for reports differed in regard to the disposal of the corpses, though all agreed as to the setting of the heads on stakes. Ammianus Marcellinus says that the native name of the goddess was Orsiloche.

[3] This account of the disposal of the bodies of the victims is based on Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 625 *sq.* :—

ΟΡ. *τάφος δὲ ποῖος δέξεταί μ', ὅταν θάνω;*
ΙΦ. *πῦρ ἱερὸν ἔνδον χάσμα τ' εὐρωπὸν πέτρας.*

Compare *id.* 1154 *sq.* :—

ἤδη τῶν ξένων κατήρξατο,
ἀδύτοις τ' ἐν ἀγνοῖς σῶμα λάμπουσαι πυρί;

Thus Apollodorus differs from the account which Herodotus gives of the disposal of the bodies. See the preceding note.

Ταύρους Ὀρέστης[1] μετὰ Πυλάδου ῳωραθεὶς ἑάλω καὶ ἄγεται πρὸς Θόαντα τὸν βασιλέα δέσμιος, ὁ δὲ ἀμφοτέρους πρὸς τὴν ἱέρειαν ἀποστέλλει. ἐπιγνωσθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἱερὰ ποιούσης ἐν Ταύροις,[2] ἄρας τὸ ξόανον σὺν αὐτῇ φεύγει. S. | κομισθὲν δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας νῦν λέγεται τὸ τῆς Ταυροπόλου· ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτὸν κατὰ χειμῶνα προσενε-

[1] παραγενόμενος οὖν εἰς Ταύρους Ὀρέστης S : καὶ δὴ παραγενόμενος ἐν Ταύροις E.

[2] τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἱερὰ ποιούσης ἐν Ταύροις S : τῆς ἀδελφῆς E.

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[1] This account of the expedition of Orestes and Pylades to the land of the Taurians, and their escape with the image of Artemis, is the subject of Euripides's play *Iphigenia in Tauris*, which Apollodorus seems to have followed closely. The gist of the play is told in verse by Ovid (*Ex Ponto*, iii. 2. 43–96) and in prose by Hyginus (*Fab.* 120). Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1374; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i pp. 7, 141 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 20; Second Vatican Mythographer, 202).

[2] In saying that the image of the Tauric Artemis was taken to Athens our author follows Euripides. See *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 89–91, 1212–1214. But according to Euripides the image was not to remain in Athens but to be carried to a sacred place in Attica called Halae, where it was to be set up in a temple specially built for it and to be called the image of Artemis Tauropolus or Brauronian Artemis (*Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1446–1467). An old wooden image of Artemis, which purported to be the one brought from the land of the Taurians, was shown at Brauron in Attica as late as the second century of our era; Iphigenia is said to have landed with the image at Brauron and left it there, while she herself went on by land to Athens and afterwards to Argos. See Pausanias, i. 23. 7, i. 33. 1. But according to some the original image was carried off by Xerxes to Susa, and was afterwards presented by Seleucus to Laodicea in Syria, where it was said to remain down to the time of Pausanias in the second century of our era (Pausanias, iii. 16. 8, viii. 46. 3).

Pylades to the land of the Taurians, he was detected, caught, and carried in bonds before Thoas the king, who sent them both to the priestess. But being recognized by his sister, who acted as priestess among the Taurians, he fled with her, carrying off the wooden image.[1] It was conveyed to Athens and is now called the image of Tauropolus.[2] But some say

Euripides has recorded, in the form of prophecy, two interesting features in the ritual of Artemis at Halae or Brauron. In sacrificing to the goddess the priest drew blood with a sword from the throat of a man, and this was regarded as a substitute for the sacrifice of Orestes, of which the goddess had been defrauded by his escape. Such a custom is explained most naturally as a mitigation of an older practice of actually sacrificing human beings to the goddess; and the tradition of such sacrifices at Brauron would suffice to give rise to the story that the image of the cruel goddess had been brought from the land of ferocious barbarians on the Black Sea. For similar mitigations of an old custom of human sacrifice, see *The Dying God*, pp. 214 *sqq.* The other feature in the ritual at Brauron which Euripides notices was that the garments of women dying in childbed used to be dedicated to Iphigenia, who was believed to be buried at Brauron. See Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1458-1467. As to Brauron and Halae, see my note on Pausanias, i. 33. 1 (vol. ii. pp. 445 *sqq.*). But other places besides Brauron claimed to possess the ancient idol of the Tauric Artemis The wooden image of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, at whose altar the Spartan youths were scourged to the effusion of blood, was supposed by the Lacedaemonians to be the true original image brought by Iphigenia herself to Sparta; and their claim was preferred by Pausanias to that of the Athenians (Pausanias, iii. 16. 7-10). Others said that Orestes and Iphigenia carried the image, hidden in a bundle of faggots, to Aricia in Italy. See Servius, on Virgil, ii. 116, vi. 136; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 7, 142 (First Vatican Mythographer, 20; Second Vatican Mythographer, 202); compare Strabo, v. 3. 12, p. 239. Indeed, it was affirmed by some people that on his wanderings Orestes had deposited, not one, but many

χθῆναι τῇ νήσῳ Ῥόδῳ λέγουσιν . . . αὐτὸν καὶ
ES 28 κατὰ χρησμὸν ἐν τείχει καθοσιωθῆναι.[1] | καὶ δὴ
ἐλθὼν εἰς Μυκήνας Πυλάδῃ μὲν τὴν ἀδελφὴν
Ἠλέκτραν συζεύγνυσιν,[2] αὐτὸς δὲ γίμας Ἑρμιόνην,
E ἢ κατά τινας Ἠριγόνην,[3] τεκνοῖ Τισαμενόν,[4] | καὶ
δηχθεὶς ὑπὸ ὄφεως ἐν Ὀρεστείῳ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας
θνήσκει.

[1] λεγουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ χρησμὸν ἐν τείχει καθοσιωθῆναι S. There seems to be a lacuna after λέγουσιν. Bücheler proposed to correct the passage and supply the lacuna as follows: λεγουσι <καὶ τὸ ξοανον μεῖναι> αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ χρησμὸν ἐν τείχει καθοσιωθῆναι, "They say that the image remained there and in accordance with an oracle was dedicated in a fortification wall." This may give the sense. Kerameus proposed to change αὐτὸν into ναυαγὸν, but this would still leave the verb καθοσιωθῆναι without a proper subject.

[2] καὶ δὴ ἐλθὼν εἰς Μυκήνας Πυλάδῃ μὲν τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἠλέκτραν συζευγνυσιν E: Ὀρέστης δὲ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἠλέκτραν Πυλάδῃ συνῴκισεν S.

[3] ἢ κατά τινας Ἠριγόνην E, wanting in S.

[4] ἐγεννησε Τισαμενον S . . . τενον (without an accusative) E. The original text of Apollodorus in this passage is probably reproduced more fully by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 1374) as follows: Ὕστερον δὲ ἦλθεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ Πυλάδῃ μὲν Ἠλέκτραν ζευγνυει, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀνελὼν Νεοπτόλεμον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως ἔγημεν Ἑρμιόνην, ἐξ ἧς γεννᾷ Τισαμενόν, ἢ κατά τινας Ἠριγόνην γήμας, τὴν Αἰγίσθου, Πένθιλον γεννᾷ, οἰκῶν ἐν Ὀρεστίᾳ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας, ὅπου ὑπὸ ὄφεως δηχθεὶς ἀναιρεῖται. "Afterwards he came to Athens and united Electra in marriage to Pylades, but he himself, with the help of his brothers, killed Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, and married Hermione, by whom he begat Tisamenus; or, according to some, he married Erigone, daughter of Aegisthus, and begat Penthilus, dwelling in Orestia, a district of Arcadia, where he was killed by the bite of a snake."

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images of Artemis in many places (Aelius Lampridius, *Heliogabalus*, 7). Such stories have clearly no historical value. In every case they were probably devised to explain or excuse a cruel and bloody ritual by deriving it from a barbarous country.

that Orestes was driven in a storm to the island of Rhodes, and in accordance with an oracle the image was dedicated in a fortification wall.[1] And having come to Mycenae, he united his sister Electra in marriage to Pylades,[2] and having himself married Hermione, or, according to some, Erigone, he begat Tisamenus,[3] and was killed by the bite of a snake at Oresteum in Arcadia.[4]

[1] This drifting of Orestes to Rhodes seems to be mentioned by no other ancient writer. The verb (*καθοσιωθῆναι*), which I have taken to refer to the image and have translated by "dedicated," may perhaps refer to Orestes; if so, it would mean "purified" from the guilt of matricide. According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 120), Orestes sailed with Iphigenia and Pylades to the island of Sminthe, which is otherwise unknown. Another place to which Orestes and Iphigenia were supposed to have come on their way from the Crimea was Comana in Cappadocia; there he was said to have introduced the worship of Artemis Tauropolus and to have shorn his hair in token of mourning. Hence the city was said to derive its name (Κόμανα from *κόμη*). See Strabo, xii. 2. 3, p. 535. According to Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 1374), Orestes was driven by storms to that part of Syria where Selencia and Antioch afterwards stood; and Mount Amanus, on the borders of Syria and Cilicia, was so named because there the matricide was relieved of his madness (Ἀμανός, from *μανία* "madness" and ἀ privative). Such is a sample of Byzantine etymology.

[2] As to the marriage of Electra to Pylades, see Euripides, *Electra*, 1249; *id. Orestes*, 1658 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 122.

[3] As to the marriage of Orestes and Hermione, see above, *Epitome*, v. 14, with the note. According to Pausanias (ii. 18. 6), Orestes had by Hermione a son Tisamenus, who succeeded his father on the throne of Sparta. But Pausanias also mentions a tradition that Orestes had a bastard son Penthilus by Erigone, daughter of Aegisthus, and for this tradition he cites as his authority the old epic poet Cinaethon. Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1474.

[4] Compare Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 1645, quoting Asclepiades as his authority; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1374. In the passage of Euripides on which the

ES 29 | Μενέλαος δὲ πέντε ναῦς τὰς πάσας[1] ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ προσσχὼν[2] Σουνίῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀκρωτηρίῳ κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Κρήτην ἀπορριφεὶς πάλιν ὑπὸ ἀνέμων μακρὰν ἀπωθεῖται, καὶ πλανώμενος ἀνά τε Λιβύην καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ Κύπρον καὶ Αἴγυπτον πολλὰ συναθροίζει χρήματα. καὶ κατά τινας εὑρίσκεται παρὰ Πρωτεῖ τῷ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῖ Ἑλένῃ, μέχρι τότε εἰδώλου ἐκ νεφῶν ἐσχηκότος τοῦ Μενελάου. ὀκτὼ δὲ πλανηθεὶς ἔτη κατέπλευσεν εἰς Μυκήνας, κἀκεῖ κατέλαβεν Ὀρέστην μετελθὼν τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς φόνον. ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς Σπάρτην τὴν ἰδίαν[3] ἐκτήσατο βασιλείαν.

S καὶ[4] | ἀποθανατισθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἥρας εἰς τὸ Ἠλύσιον ἦλθε πεδίον μεθ' Ἑλένης.

VII. Ὁ δὲ Ὀδυσσεύς, ὡς μέν ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ἐπλανᾶτο κατὰ Λιβύην, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι κατὰ Σικελίαν,

[1] τὰς πάσας S : τὰς ὅλας E.

[2] προσσχὼν . . . Κύπρον καὶ Αἴγυπτον S : πολλὰς χώρας παραυείψας E.

[3] τὴν ἰδίαν E : ἰδίαν S.

[4] Here the Vatican Epitome ends. What follows is found in the Sabbaitic fragments alone.

Scholiast comments (*Orestes*, 1643-1647), Orestes is bidden by Apollo to retire to Parrhasia, a district of Arcadia, for the space of a year, after which he is to go and stand his trial for the murder of his mother at Athens. This year to be spent in Arcadia is no doubt the year of banishment to which homicides had to submit before they were allowed to resume social intercourse with their fellows. See above note on ii. 5. 11 (vol. i. pp. 218 *sq.*). The period is so interpreted by a Scholiast on Euripides (*Orestes*, 1645). As to Oresteum in Arcadia, see Pausanias, viii. 3. 1 *sq.*, who says that it was formerly called Orsithasium. A curious story of the madness of Orestes in Arcadia is told by Pausanias (viii. 34. 1–4). He says that, when the Furies were about to drive him mad, they appeared to him black, but that he bit off one of his own

Menelaus, with five ships in all under his command, put in at Sunium, a headland of Attica; and being again driven thence by winds to Crete he drifted far away, and wandering up and down Libya, and Phoenicia, and Cyprus, and Egypt, he collected much treasure.[1] And according to some, he discovered Helen at the court of Proteus, king of Egypt; for till then Menelaus had only a phantom of her made of clouds.[2] And after wandering for eight years he came to port at Mycenae, and there found Orestes, who had avenged his father's murder. And having come to Sparta he regained his own kingdom,[3] and being made immortal by Hera he went to the Elysian Fields with Helen.[4]

VII. Ulysses, as some say, wandered about Libya, or, as some say, about Sicily, or, as others

fingers, whereupon they appeared to him white, and he immediately recovered his wits. The grave of Orestes was near Tegea in Arcadia; from there his bones were stolen by a Spartan and carried to Sparta in compliance with an oracle, which assured the Spartans of victory over their stubborn foes the Tegeans, if only they could get possession of these valuable relics. See Herodotus, i. 67 *sq.*; Pausanias, iii. 3. 5 *sq.*, iii. 11. 10, viii. 54. 3.

[1] For the wanderings of Menelaus on the voyage from Troy, see Homer, *Od.* iii. 276–302; compare Pausanias, x. 25. 2.

[2] As to the real and the phantom Helen, see above, *Epitome*, iii. 5, with the note.

[3] The return of Menelaus to his home was related by Hagias in the *Returns*, as we learn from the brief abstract of that poem by Proclus (*Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 53).

[4] Homer in the *Odyssey* (iv. 561–569) represents Proteus prophesying to Menelaus that he was fated not to die but to be transported by the gods to the Elysian Fields, there to dwell at ease where there was neither snow, nor storm, or rain, because he had married Helen and was thereby a son-in-law of Zeus. Compare Euripides, *Helen*, 1676–1679.

ὡς δὲ ἄλλοι κατὰ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἡ κατὰ τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος.

2 Ἀναχθεὶς δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰλίου προσίσχει πόλει Κικόνων Ἰσμάρῳ καὶ ταύτην αἱρεῖ πολεμῶν καὶ λαφυραγωγεῖ, μόνου φεισάμενος Μάρωνος, ὃς ἦν ἱερεὺς Ἀπόλλωνος. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ τὴν ἤπειρον οἰκοῦντες Κίκονες σὺν ὅπλοις ἐπ' αὐτὸν παραγίνονται· ἀφ' ἑκάστης δὲ νεὼς ἓξ ἀποβαλὼν ἄνδρας ἀνα-
3 χθεὶς ἔφευγε. καὶ καταντᾷ εἰς τὴν Λωτοφάγων χώραν καὶ πέμπει τινὰς[1] μαθησομένους τοὺς κατοικοῦντας· οἱ δὲ γευσάμενοι τοῦ λωτοῦ κατέμειναν· ἐφύετο γὰρ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καρπὸς ἡδὺς λεγόμενος λωτός, ὃς τῷ γευσαμένῳ πάντων ἐποίει λήθην. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ αἰσθόμενος, τοὺς λοιποὺς κατασχών, τοὺς γευσαμένους μετὰ βίας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἄγει, καὶ προσπλεύσας[2] τῇ Κυκλώπων γῇ προσπελάζει.

4 Καταλιπὼν δὲ τὰς λοιπὰς ναῦς ἐν τῇ πλησίον νήσῳ, μίαν ἔχων τῇ Κυκλώπων γῇ προσπελάζει, μετὰ δωδεκα ἑταίρων ἀποβὰς τῆς νεώς. ἔστι δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης πλησίον ἄντρον, εἰς ὃ ἔρχεται ἔχων

[1] τινὰς Wagner: τοὺς S.

[2] προσπλεύσας S. Wagner conjectures ἀποπλεύσας, which would be better.

[1] As to the adventures of Ulysses with the Cicones, see Homer, *Od.* ix. 39–66. The Cicones were a Thracian tribe; Xerxes and his army marched through their country (Herodotus, vii. 110). As to Maro, the priest of Apollo at Ismarus, see Homer, *Od.* ix. 196–211. He dwelt in a wooded grove of Apollo, and bestowed splendid presents and twelve jars of red honey-sweet wine, in return for the protection which he and his wife received at the hands of Ulysses.

[2] As to the adventures of Ulysses with the Lotus eaters, see Homer, *Od.* ix. 82–104; Hyginus, *Fab.* 125. The Lotus-

say, about the ocean or about the Tyrrhenian Sea.

And putting to sea from Ilium, he touched at Ismarus, a city of the Cicones, and captured it in war, and pillaged it, sparing Maro alone, who was priest of Apollo.[1] And when the Cicones who inhabited the mainland heard of it, they came in arms to withstand him, and having lost six men from each ship he put to sea and fled. And he landed in the country of the Lotus-eaters,[2] and sent some to learn who inhabited it, but they tasted of the lotus and remained there; for there grew in the country a sweet fruit called lotus, which caused him who tasted it to forget everything. When Ulysses was informed of this, he restrained the rest of his men, and dragged those who had tasted the lotus by force to the ships. And having sailed to the land of the Cyclopes, he stood in for the shore.

And having left the rest of the ships in the neighbouring island, he stood in for the land of the Cyclopes with a single ship, and landed with twelve companions.[3] And near the sea was a cave which he entered,

eaters were a tribe of northern Africa, inhabiting the coast of Tripolis (Scylax, *Periplus*. 110; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 28). As to the lotus, see Herodotus, iv. 177; Polybius, xii. 2. 1, quoted by Athenaeus, xiv. 65, p. 651 D-E; Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* iv. 3. 1 *sq.* The tree is the *Zizyphus Lotus* of the botanists. Theophrastus says that the tree was common in Libya, that is, in northern Africa, and that an army marching on Carthage subsisted on its fruit alone for several days. The modern name of the tree is *ssodr* or *ssidr*. A whole district in Tripolis is named *Ssodria* after it. See A. Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, p. 385, note on Herodotus, ii. 96.

[3] As to the adventures of Ulysses and his companions among the Cyclopes, see Homer, *Od.* ix. 105–542; Hyginus, *Fab.* 125. The story is a folk-tale found in many lands. See Appendix, "Ulysses and Polyphemus."

ἀσκὸν οἴνου τὸν ὑπὸ Μάρωνος αὐτῷ δοθέντα.[1] ἦν δὲ Πολυφήμου τὸ ἄντρον, ὃς ἦν Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Θοώσης νύμφης, ἀνὴρ ὑπερμεγέθης ἄγριος ἀνδροφάγος, ἔχων ἕνα ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου. 5 ἀνακαύσαντες δὲ πῦρ καὶ τῶν ἐρίφων θύσαντες εὐωχοῦντο. ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Κύκλωψ καὶ εἰσελάσας τὰ ποίμνια τῇ μὲν θύρᾳ προσέθηκε πέτρον ὑπερμεγέθη καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐνίους κατήσθιεν. 6 Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ αὐτῷ δίδωσιν ἐκ τοῦ Μάρωνος οἶνον πιεῖν· ὁ δὲ πιὼν πάλιν ᾔτησε, καὶ πιὼν τὸ δεύτερον ἐπηρώτα τὸ ὄνομα. τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος <ὅτι>[2] Οὖτις καλεῖται, Οὖτιν ἠπείλει ὕστερον ἀναλῶσαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ τοῦτο αὐτῷ ξένιον ἀποδώσειν ὑπέσχετο. κατασχεθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ μέθης 7 ἐκοιμήθη. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ εὑρὼν ῥόπαλον κείμενον σὺν τέσσαρσιν ἑταίροις ἀπώξυνε[3] καὶ πυρώσας ἐξετύφλωσεν αὐτόν. ἐπιβοωμένου δὲ Πολυφήμου τοὺς περιξ Κύκλωπας, παραγενόμενοι ἐπηρώτων τίς αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖ. τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος "Οὖτις," νομίσαντες αὐτὸν λέγειν "ὑπὸ μηδενός" ἀνεχώρησαν. 8 ἐπιζητούντων δὲ τῶν ποιμνίων τὴν συνήθη νομήν, ἀναξας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ προθύρου στὰς τὰς χεῖρας ἐκπετασας ἐψηλάφα τὰ ποίμνια. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ τρεῖς κριοὺς ὁμοῦ συνδέων . . . καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ μείζονι ὑποδύς, ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα κρυβείς, σὺν τοῖς ποιμνίοις ἐξῆλθε, καὶ λύσας τοὺς ἑταίρους τῶν ποιμνίων, ἐπὶ τὰς ἰδίας ἐλάσας ἀποπλέων ἀνεβόησε Κύκλωπι ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς εἴη καὶ ἐκπεφεύγοι[4]

[1] For τὸν . . . δοθέντα we should perhaps read τοῦ . . . δοθέντος, as Wagner suggests, since it was not the wine-skin (ἀσκός), but the wine, which Maron gave to Ulysses. See Homer, *Od.* ix. 196 *sq.*, 203–205.

taking with him the skin of wine that had been given him by Maro. Now the cave belonged to Polyphemus, who was a son of Poseidon and the nymph Thoösa, a huge, wild, cannibal man, with one eye on his forehead. And having lit a fire and sacrificed some of the kids, they feasted. But the Cyclops came, and when he had driven in his flocks, he put a huge stone to the door, and perceiving the men he ate some of them. But Ulysses gave him of Maro's wine to drink, and when he had drunk, he asked for another draught, and when he had drunk the second, he inquired his name: and when Ulysses said that he was called Nobody, he threatened to devour Nobody last and the others first, and that was the token of friendship which he promised to give him in return. And being overcome by wine, he fell asleep. But Ulysses found a club lying there, and with the help of four comrades he sharpened it, and, having heated it in the fire, he blinded him. And when Polyphemus cried to the Cyclopes round about for help, they came and asked who was hurting him, and when he said, "Nobody," they thought he meant that he was being hurt by nobody, and so they retired. And when the flocks sought their usual pasture, he opened the cave, and standing at the doorway spread out his hands and felt the sheep. But Ulysses tied three rams together, and himself getting under the bigger, and hiding under its belly, he passed out with the sheep. And having released his comrades from the sheep, he drove the animals to the ships, and sailing away shouted to the Cyclops that he was Ulysses and that he had escaped

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[2] ὅτι wanting in S, inserted by Bücheler.
[3] ἀπώξυνε Kerameus: ἀπώξενε S.
[4] ἐκπεφεύγοι Bücheler: ἐπιφεύγει S.

9 τὰς ἐκείνου χεῖρας. ἦν δὲ λόγιον Κύκλωπι εἰρημένον ὑπὸ μάντεως τυφλωθῆναι ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσέως. καὶ μαθὼν τὸ ὄνομα πέτρας ἀποσπῶν ἠκόντιζεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, μόλις δὲ ἡ ναῦς σώζεται πρὸς τὰς πέτρας. ἐκ τούτου δὲ μηνίει Ποσειδῶν Ὀδυσσεῖ.

10 Ἀναχθεὶς δὲ συμπάσαις <ναυσὶ>[1] παραγίνεται εἰς Αἰολίαν νῆσον, ἧς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν Αἴολος. οὗτος ἐπιμελητὴς ὑπὸ Διὸς τῶν ἀνέμων καθεστήκει καὶ παύειν καὶ προΐεσθαι. ὃς ξενίσας Ὀδυσσέα δίδωσιν αὐτῷ ἀσκὸν βύειον, ἐν ᾧ κατέδησε τοὺς ἀνέμους, ὑποδείξας οἷς δεῖ χρῆσθαι πλέοντα, τοῦτον[2] ἐν τῷ σκάφει καταδήσας. ὁ δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐπιτηδείοις ἀνέμοις χρώμενος εὐπλοεῖ, καὶ πλησίον Ἰθάκης ὑπάρχων ἤδη τὸν ἀναφερόμενον ἐκ τῆς
11 πόλεως καπνὸν ἰδὼν ἐκοιμήθη. οἱ δὲ ἑταῖροι νομίζοντες χρυσὸν ἐν τῷ ἀσκῷ κομίζειν αὐτόν, λύσαντες τοὺς ἀνέμους ἐξαφῆκαν, καὶ πάλιν εἰς τοὐπίσω παενεγένοντο ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἁρπασθέντες. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Αἴολον ἠξίου πομπῆς τυχεῖν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκβάλλει τῆς νήσου λέγων ἀντιπρασσόντων τῶν θεῶν μὴ δύνασθαι σώζειν.

12 Πλέων οὖν κατῆρε πρὸς Λαιστρυγόνας, καὶ . . . τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ναῦν καθώρμισεν ἐσχάτως. Λαιστρυγόνες δ' ἦσαν ἀνδροφάγοι, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐβασίλευεν Ἀντιφάτης. μαθεῖν οὖν Ὀδυσσεὺς βουλόμενος

[1] *ναυσὶ* conjectured by Kerameus, wanting in S.
[2] Perhaps we should read *καὶ τοῦτον*.

[1] As to the adventures of Ulysses with Aeolus, the Keeper of the Winds, see Homer, *Od.* x. 1–76; Hyginus, *Fab.* 125; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 223–232.

out of his hands. Now the Cyclops had been forewarned by a soothsayer that he should be blinded by Ulysses; and when he learned the name, he tore away rocks and hurled them into the sea, and hardly did the ship evade the rocks. From that time Poseidon was wroth with Ulysses.

Having put to sea with all his ships, he came to the island of Aeolia, of which the king was Aeolus.[1] He was appointed by Zeus keeper of the winds, both to calm them and to send them forth. Having entertained Ulysses, he gave him an ox hide bag in which he had bound fast the winds, after showing what winds to use on the voyage and binding fast the bag in the vessel. And by using suitable winds Ulysses had a prosperous voyage; and when he was near Ithaca and already saw the smoke rising from the town,[2] he fell asleep. But his comrades, thinking he carried gold in the bag, loosed it and let the winds go free, and being swept away by the blasts they were driven back again. And having come to Aeolus, Ulysses begged that he might be granted a fair wind; but Aeolus drove him from the island, saying that he could not save him when the gods opposed.

So sailing on he came to the land of the Laestrygones,[3] and his own ship he moored last. Now the Laestrygones were cannibals, and their king was Antiphates. Wishing, therefore, to learn about the

[2] Homer says (*Od.* x. 30) they were so near land that they could already see the men tending the fires (πυρπολέοντας); but whether the fires were signals to guide the ship to port, or watch-fires of shepherds tending their flocks on the hills, does not appear.

[3] As to the adventures of Ulysses and his comrades among the Laestrygones, see Homer, *Od.* x. 80–132; Hyginus, *Fab.* 125; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 233–244.

τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἔπεμψέ τινας πευσομένους. τούτοις δὲ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγάτηρ συντυγχάνει
13 καὶ αὐτοὺς ἄγει πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. ὁ δὲ ἕνα μὲν αὐτῶν ἁρπάσας ἀναλίσκει, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐδίωκε φεύγοντας κεκραγὼς καὶ συγκαλῶν τοὺς ἄλλους Λαιστρυγόνας. οἱ δὲ ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ βάλλοντες πέτροις τὰ μὲν σκάφη κατέαξαν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐβίβρωσκον. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ κόψας τὸ πεῖσμα τῆς νεὼς ἀνήχθη, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ σὺν τοῖς πλέουσιν ἀπώλοντο.

14 Μίαν δὲ ἔχων ναῦν Αἰαίῃ νήσῳ προσίσχει. ταύτην κατῴκει Κίρκη, θυγάτηρ Ἡλίου καὶ Πέρσης, Αἰήτου δὲ ἀδελφή, πάντων ἔμπειρος οὖσα φαρμάκων. διελὼν[1] τοὺς ἑταίρους αὐτὸς μὲν κλήρῳ μένει παρὰ τῇ νηί, Εὐρύλοχος δὲ πορεύεται μεθ' ἑταίρων[2] εἰκοσιδύο τὸν ἀριθμὸν πρὸς Κίρκην.
15 καλούσης δὲ αὐτῆς χωρὶς Εὐρυλόχου πάντες εἰσίασιν. ἡ δ' ἑκάστῳ κυκεῶνα πλήσασα τυροῦ καὶ μέλιτος καὶ ἀλφίτων καὶ οἴνου δίδωσι, μίξασα φαρμάκῳ. πιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν, ἐφαπτομένη ῥάβδῳ τὰς μορφὰς ἠλλοίου. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐποίει λύκους, τοὺς δὲ σῦς, τοὺς δὲ ὄνους, τοὺς δὲ λέοντας.
16 Εὐρύλοχος δὲ ἰδὼν ταῦτα Ὀδυσσεῖ ἀπαγγέλλει.

[1] Wagner conjectures διελὼν < δὲ >, which would be better.
[2] ἑταίρων Kerameus: ἑτέρων S.

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[1] As to the adventures of Ulysses and his comrades with the enchantress Circe, see Homer, *Od.* x. 133-574; Hyginus, *Fab.* 125; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 246-440. The word (φάρμακα) here translated "enchantments" means primarily drugs; but in the early stages of medicine drugs were supposed to be endowed with magical potency, partly in virtue of the spells, that is, the form of words, with which the

inhabitants, Ulysses sent some men to inquire. But the king's daughter met them and led them to her father. And he snatched up one of them and devoured him; but the rest fled, and he pursued them, shouting and calling together the rest of the Laestrygones. They came to the sea, and by throwing stones they broke the vessels and ate the men. Ulysses cut the cable of his ship and put to sea; but the rest of the ships perished with their crews.

With one ship he put in to the Aeaean isle. It was inhabited by Circe, a daughter of the Sun and of Perse, and a sister of Aeetes; skilled in all enchantments was she.[1] Having divided his comrades, Ulysses himself abode by the ship, in accordance with the lot, but Eurylochus with two and twenty comrades repaired to Circe. At her call they all entered except Eurylochus; and to each she gave a tankard she had filled with cheese and honey and barley meal and wine, and mixed with an enchantment. And when they had drunk, she touched them with a wand and changed their shapes, and some she made wolves, and some swine, and some asses, and some lions.[2] But Eurylochus saw these things and

medical practitioner administered them to the patient. Hence druggist and enchanter were nearly synonymous terms. As Circe used her knowledge of drugs purely for magical purposes, without any regard to the medical side of the profession, it seems better to translate her *φάρμακα* by "enchantments" or "charms" rather than "drugs," and to call her an enchantress instead of a druggist.

[2] In Homer (*Od.* x. 237 *sqq.*) the companions of Ulysses are turned into swine only; nothing is said about a transformation of them into wolves, lions, and asses, though round about the house of the enchantress they saw wolves and lions, which stood on their hind legs, wagged their tails, and fawned upon them, because they were men enchanted (*Od.* x. 210–219).

ὁ δὲ λαβὼν μῶλυ παρὰ Ἑρμοῦ πρὸς Κίρκην ἔρχεται, καὶ βαλὼν εἰς τὰ φάρμακα τὸ μῶλυ μόνος πιὼν οὐ φαρμάσσεται· σπασάμενος δὲ τὸ ξίφος ἤθελε[1] Κίρκην ἀποκτεῖναι. ἡ δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν παύσασα τοὺς ἑταίρους ἀποκαθίστησι. καὶ λαβὼν ὅρκους Ὀδυσσεὺς παρ' αὐτῆς μηδὲν ἀδικηθῆναι συνευνάζεται, καὶ γίνεται αὐτῷ παῖς Τηλέγονος.

17 ἐναυτὸν δὲ μείνας ἐκεῖ, πλεύσας[2] τὸν Ὠκεανόν, σφάγια[3] ταῖς ψυχαῖς ποιησάμενος μαντεύεται παρὰ Τειρεσίου, Κίρκης ὑποθεμένης, καὶ θεωρεῖ τάς τε τῶν ἡρώων ψυχὰς καὶ[4] τῶν ἡρωίδων. βλέπει δὲ καὶ τὴν μητέρα Ἀντίκλειαν καὶ Ἐλπήνορα, ὃς ἐν τοῖς Κίρκης πεσὼν ἐτελεύτησε.

18 Παραγενόμενος δὲ πρὸς Κίρκην ὑπ' ἐκείνης προπεμφθεὶς ἀνήχθη, καὶ τὴν νῆσον παρέπλει[5]

[1] ἤ[θ]ελε Bücheler : ἤλθε S.
[2] Perhaps we should read πλεύσας <εἰς> τὸν Ὠκεανόν.
[3] Wagner conjectured <καὶ> σφάγια.
[4] Perhaps we should read καὶ τὰς.
[5] παρέπλει Wagner : παραπλέει S.

[1] As to moly, see Homer, *Od.* x. 302–306. Homer says that it was a plant dug up from the earth, with a black root and a white flower. According to Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* ix. 15. 7), moly resembled *Allium nigrum*, which was found in the valley of Pheneus and on Mount Cyllene in northern Arcadia; he says it had a round root, like an onion, and a leaf like a squill, and that it was used as an antidote to spells and enchantments. But probably the moly of Homer grew on no earthly hill or valley, but only in "fairyland forlorn."

[2] Telegonus is unknown to Homer, who mentions no offspring of Ulysses by the enchantress Circe. He is named as a son of Ulysses and Circe by Hesiod in a line which is suspected, however, of being spurious (*Theogony*, 1014). He was recognized by Hagias in his epic, *The Returns*, and by another Cyclic poet Eugammon of Cyrene; indeed Eugammon composed an epic called the *Telegony* on the adventures of Telegonus, but according to him Telegonus was a son of

reported them to Ulysses. And Ulysses went to Circe with moly,[1] which he had received from Hermes, and throwing the moly among her enchantments, he drank and alone was not enchanted. Then drawing his sword, he would have killed her, but she appeased his wrath and restored his comrades. And when he had taken an oath of her that he should suffer no harm, Ulysses shared her bed, and a son, Telegonus, was born to him.[2] Having tarried a year there, he sailed the ocean, and offered sacrifices to the souls,[3] and by Circe's advice consulted the soothsayer Tiresias,[4] and beheld the souls both of heroes and of heroines. He also looked on his mother Anticlia[5] and Elpenor, who had died of a fall in the house of Circe.[6]

And having come to Circe he was sent on his way by her, and put to sea, and sailed past the isle of the

Ulysses by Calypso, not by Circe. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 56, 57 *sq.*; Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* xvi. 118, p. 1796. According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 125), Ulysses had two sons, Nausithous and Telegonus, by Circe. As to Telegonus, see also below, *Epitome*, vii. 36 *sq.*

[3] The visit of Ulysses to the land of the dead is the theme of the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*. Compare Hyginus, *Fab.* 125. The visit was the subject of one of the two great pictures by Polygnotus at Delphi. See Pausanias, x. 28–31.

[4] As to the consultation with Tiresias, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 90–151.

[5] As to the interview of Ulysses with his mother, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 153–224.

[6] In the hot air of Circe's enchanted isle Elpenor had slept for coolness on the roof of the palace; then, suddenly wakened by the noise and bustle of his comrades making ready to depart, he started up and, forgetting to descend by the ladder, tumbled from the roof and broke his neck. In his hurry to be off, Ulysses had not stayed to bury his dead comrade; so the soul of Elpenor, unwept and unburied, was the first to meet his captain on the threshold of the spirit land. See Homer, *Od.* x. 552–560, xi. 51–83.

τῶν Σειρήνων. αἱ δὲ Σειρῆνες ἦσαν Ἀχελῴου καὶ Μελπομένης μιᾶς τῶν Μουσῶν θυγατέρες, Πεισινόη Ἀγλαόπη Θελξιέπεια. τούτων ἡ μὲν ἐκιθάριζεν, ἡ δὲ ᾖδεν, ἡ δὲ ηὔλει, καὶ διὰ τούτων
19 ἔπειθον καταμένειν τοὺς παραπλέοντας. εἶχον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν μηρῶν ὀρνίθων μορφάς. ταύτας παραπλέων Ὀδυσσεύς, τῆς ᾠδῆς βουλόμενος ὑπακοῦσαι, Κίρκης ὑποθεμένης τῶν μὲν ἑταίρων τὰ ὦτα ἔβυσε κηρῷ, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐκέλευσε προσδεθῆναι τῷ ἱστῷ. πειθομένου δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Σειρήνων καταμένειν ἠξίου λυθῆναι, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐδέσμευον, καὶ οὕτω

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[1] As to the return of Ulysses to the isle of Circe, and his sailing past the Sirens, see Homer, *Od.* xii. 1. 200; Hyginus, *Fab.* 125. Homer does not name the Sirens individually nor mention their parentage, but by using the dual in reference to them (verses 52, 167) he indicates that they were two in number. Sophocles, in his play *Ulysses*, called the Sirens daughters of Phorcus, and agreed with Homer in recognizing only two of them. See Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* ix. 14. 6; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. iii. p. 66, frag. 861. Apollonius Rhodius says that the Muse Terpsichore bore the Sirens to Achelous (*Argonaut.* iv. 895 *sq.*). Hyginus names four of them, Teles, Raidne, Molpe, and Thelxiope (*Poetica*, *praefat.* p. 30, ed. Bunte), and, in agreement with Apollodorus, says that they were the offspring of Achelous by the Muse Melpomene. Tzetzes calls them Parthenope, Leucosia, and Ligia, but adds that other people named them Pisinoe, Aglaope, and Thelxiepia, and that they were the children of Achelous and Terpsichore. With regard to the parts which they took in the bewitching concert, he agrees with Apollodorus. See Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 712. According to a Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonaut.* iv. 892), their names were Thelxiope, or Thelxione, Molpe, and Aglaophonus. As to their names and parents see also Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* xii. p. 1709. Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xii. 39, who mention the view that the father of the Sirens was Achelous, and that their mother was either the Muse Terpsichore, or Sterope, daughter of Porthaon.

Sirens.[1] Now the Sirens were Pisinoe, Aglaope, and Thelxiepia, daughters of Achelous and Melpomene, one of the Muses. One of them played the lyre, another sang, and another played the flute, and by these means they were fain to persuade passing mariners to linger; and from the thighs they had the forms of birds.[2] Sailing by them, Ulysses wished to hear their song, so by Circe's advice he stopped the ears of his comrades with wax, and ordered that he should himself be bound to the mast. And being persuaded by the Sirens to linger, he begged to be released, but they bound him the more, and so he

[2] Similarly Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* iv. 898 *sq.*) describes the Sirens as partly virgins and partly birds. Aelian tells us (*De natura animalium*, xvii. 23) that poets and painters represented them as winged maidens with the feet of birds. Ovid says that the Sirens had the feet and feathers of birds, but the faces of virgins; and he asks why these daughters of Achelous, as he calls them, had this hybrid form. Perhaps, he thinks, it was because they had been playing with Persephone when gloomy Dis carried her off, and they had begged the gods to grant them wings, that they might search for their lost playmate over seas as well as land. See Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 552–562. In like manner Hyginus describes the Sirens as women above and fowls below, but he says that their wings and feathers were a punishment inflicted on them by Demeter for not rescuing Persephone from the clutches of Pluto. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 125, 141. Another story was that they were maidens whom Aphrodite turned into birds because they chose to remain unmarried. See Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xii. 47, p. 1709. It is said that they once vied with the Muses in singing, and that the Muses, being victorious, plucked off the Siren's feathers and made crowns out of them for themselves (Pausanias, ix. 34. 3). In ancient art, as in literature, the Sirens are commonly represented as women above and birds below. See Miss J. E. Harrison, *Myths of the Odyssey* (London, 1882), pp. 146 *sqq.* Homer says nothing as to the semi-bird shape of the Sirens, thus leaving us to infer that they were purely human.

παρέπλει. ἦν δὲ αὐταῖς[1] Σειρῆσι λύγιον τελευτῆσαι νεὼς[2] παρελθούσης. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐτελεύτων.
20 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο παραγίνεται ἐπὶ δισσὰς ὁδούς. ἔνθεν μὲν ἦσαν αἱ Πλαγκταὶ πέτραι, ἔνθεν δὲ ὑπερμεγέθεις σκόπελοι δύο. ἦν δὲ ἐν μὲν θατέρῳ Σκύλλα, Κραταιΐδος θυγάτηρ καὶ Τριήνου[3] ἢ Φόρκου, πρόσωπον ἔχουσα καὶ στέρνα γυναικός,
21 ἐκ λαγόνων δὲ κεφαλὰς ἓξ καὶ δώδεκα πόδας κυνῶν. ἐν δὲ θατέρῳ [τῷ σκοπέλῳ] ἦν Χάρυβδις, ἡ τῆς ἡμέρας τρὶς ἀνασπῶσα[4] τὸ ὕδωρ πάλιν ἀνίει. ὑποθεμένης δὲ Κίρκης, τὸν μὲν παρὰ τὰς Πλαγκτὰς πλοῦν ἐφυλάξατο, παρὰ δὲ τὸν τῆς Σκύλλης σκόπελον <πλέων>[5] ἐπὶ τῆς πρύμνης ἔστη καθωπλισμένος. ἐπιφανεῖσα δὲ ἡ Σκύλλα

[1] αὐταῖς S. Wagner conjectures αὖ ταῖς.

[2] νεὼς Wagner: νηὸς S.

[3] Τριήνου S: Τερψίνου Scholast on Plato, *Republic*, ix. p. 588 c. Bucheler conjectured Τριαίου or Τυφῶνος (compare Hyginus, *Fab.*, p. 31, ed. Bunte); Wagner proposed Τρίτωνος, comparing Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* xii. 85, p. 1714.

[4] τρὶς ἀναπσωσα Wagner: τριτον σπωσα S: τρὶς σπωσα Kerameus.

[5] σκόπελον <πλέων> ἐπὶ Wagner (conjecture): σκόπελον ἐπὶ S.

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[1] This is not mentioned by Homer, but is affirmed by Hyginus (*Fab.* 125, 141). Others said that the Sirens cast themselves into the sea and were drowned from sheer vexation at the escape of Ulysses. See Scholast on Homer, *Od.* xii. 39; Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* xii. 167, p. 1709; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 712; compare Strabo, vi. 1. 1, p. 252.

[2] As to Ulysses and the Wandering Rocks, see Homer, *Od.* xii. 52 72, 201 221. The poet mentions (verses 70–72) the former passage of the Argo between the Wandering or Clashing Rocks, as to which see above i. 9. 22, with the note. It has been suggested that in the story of the Wandering Rocks we have a confused reminiscence of some

sailed past. Now it was predicted of the Sirens that they should themselves die when a ship should pass them; so die they did.[1]

And after that he came to two ways. On the one side were the Wandering Rocks,[2] and on the other side two huge cliffs, and in one of them was Scylla,[3] a daughter of Crataeis and Trienus or Phorcus,[4] with the face and breast of a woman, but from the flanks she had six heads and twelve feet of dogs. And in the other cliff was Charybdis, who thrice a day drew up the water and spouted it again. By the advice of Circe he shunned the passage by the Wandering Rocks, and in sailing past the cliff of Scylla he stood fully armed on the poop. But Scylla appeared, snatched

sailor's story of floating icebergs. See Merry, on Homer, *Od.* xii. 61.

[3] As to the passage of Ulysses between Scylla and Charybdis, see Homer, *Od.* xii. 73–126, 222–259; Hyginus, *Fab.* 125, 199.

[4] Homer mentions Crataeis as the mother of Scylla, but says nothing as to her father (*Od.* xii. 124 *sq.*). According to Stesichorus, the mother of Scylla was Lamia. See Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xii. 124; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xii. 85, p. 1714. Apollonius Rhodius represents Scylla as a daughter of Phorcus by the night-wandering hag Hecate (*Argonaut.* iv. 828 *sq.*), and this parentage had the support of Acusilaus, except that he named her father Phorcys instead of Phorcus (Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 828; compare Eustathius, *l.c.*). Hyginus calls her a daughter of Typhon and Echidna (*Fab.* 125, 151, and *praef.* p. 31, ed. Bunte). A Scholiast on Plato (*Repub.* ix. p. 588 *c*), who may have copied the present passage of Apollodorus, calls Scylla a daughter of Crataeis and Tyrrhenus or Phorcus, adding that she had the face and breasts of a woman, but from the flanks six heads of dogs and twelve feet. Some said that the father of Scylla was Triton (Eustathius, *l.c.*); and perhaps the name Triton should be read instead of Trienus in the present passage of Apollodorus. See the Critical Note.

ἐξ ἑταίρους ἁρπάσασα τούτους κατεβίβρωσκεν.
22 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἐλθὼν εἰς Θρινακίαν νῆσον οὖσαν Ἡλίου, ἔνθα βόες ἐβόσκοντο, καὶ ἁπλοΐᾳ κατασχεθεὶς ἔμεινεν αὐτοῦ. τῶν δὲ ἑταίρων σφαξάντων ἐκ τῶν βοῶν καὶ θοινησαμένων, λειφθέντων[1] τροφῆς, Ἥλιος ἐμήνυσε[2] Διΐ. καὶ ἀναχθέντα
23 κεραυνῷ ἔβαλε. λιθείσης δὲ τῆς νεὼς Ὀδυσσεὺς τὸν ἱστὸν καταστρώσας παραγίνεται εἰς τὴν Χάρυβδιν. τῆς δὲ Χαρυβδέως καταπινούσης τὸν ἱστόν, ἐπιλαβόμενος ὑπερπεφυκότος[3] ἐλαίου πεσεμεινε. καὶ πάλιν ἀνεθέντα τὸν ἱστὸν θεωρήσας, ἐπὶ τοῦτον ῥίψας εἰς Ὠγυγίαν νῆσον διεκομίσθη.
24 Ἐκεῖ δὲ οἰκεῖται Καλυψὼ θυγάτηρ Ἄτλαντος, καὶ συνεννασθεῖσα γεννᾷ παῖδα Λατῖνον. μένει δὲ παρ' αὐτῇ περιαετίαν, καὶ σχεδίαν ποιησάμενος ἀποπλεῖ. ταύτης δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει διαλυθείσης ὀργῇ Ποσειδῶνος, γυμνὸς πρὸς Φαίακας
25 ἐκβράσσεται. Ναυσικάα δέ, ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατὴρ Ἀλκινόου, πλύνουσα τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἱκετεύσαντα αὐτὸν ἄμφι πρὸς Ἀλκίνοον, ὃς αὐτὸν ξενίζει

[1] λειφθέντων Kerameus : ληφθέντων S.
[2] ἐμήνυσε Kerameus : ἐμήνισε S.
[3] ὑπερπεφυκότος Kerameus : ὑπερφυκότος S.

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[1] As to the adventures of Ulysses in Thrinacia, the island of the Sun, see Homer, *Od.* xii. 127–141, 260–402.

[2] See Homer, *Od.* xii. 403–425.

[3] See Homer, *Od.* xii. 426–450, compare v. 128–135.

[4] As to the stay of Ulysses with Calypso in the island of Ogygia, and his departure in a boat of his own building, see Homer, *Od.* v. 13–281, vii. 243–266; Hyginus, *Fab.* 125. According to Homer (*Od.* vii. 259), Ulysses stayed seven years with Calypso, not five years, as Apollodorus says. Hyginus limits the stay to one year. Homer does not mention that

six of his comrades, and gobbled them up. And thence he came to Thrinacia, an island of the Sun, where kine were grazing, and being windbound, he tarried there.[1] But when his comrades slaughtered some of the kine and banqueted on them, for lack of food, the Sun reported it to Zeus, and when Ulysses put out to sea, Zeus struck him with a thunderbolt.[2] And when the ship broke up, Ulysses clung to the mast and drifted to Charybdis. And when Charybdis sucked down the mast, he clutched an overhanging wild fig-tree and waited, and when he saw the mast shot up again, he cast himself on it, and was carried across to the island of Ogygia.[3]

There Calypso, daughter of Atlas, received him, and bedding with him bore a son Latinus. He stayed with her five years, and then made a raft and sailed away.[4] But on the high sea the raft was broken in pieces by the wrath of Poseidon, and Ulysses was washed up naked on the shore of the Phaeacians.[5] Now Nausicaa, the daughter of king Alcinous, was washing the clothes, and when Ulysses implored her protection, she brought him to Alcinous, who entertained him, and after bestowing gifts on him

Calypso bore a son to Ulysses. In the *Theogony* of Hesiod (verses 1011 *sqq.*) it is said that Circe (not Calypso) bore two sons, Agrius and Latinus, to Ulysses; the verses, however, are probably not by Hesiod but have been interpolated by a later poet of the Roman era in order to provide the Latins with a distinguished Greek ancestry. The verses are quoted by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonaut.* iv. 260. Compare Joannes Lydus, *De mensibus*, i. 13, p. 7, ed. Bekker. Eustathius says (on Homer, *Od.* xvi. 118, p. 1756) that, according to Hesiod, Ulysses had two sons, Agrius and Latinus, by Circe, and two sons, Nausithoüs and Nausinous, by Calypso.

[5] See Homer, *Od.* v. 282–493; Hyginus *Fab.* 125.

καὶ δῶρα δοὺς μετὰ πομπῆς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα
ἐξέπεμψε. Ποσειδῶν δὲ Φαιαξὶ μνησας τὴν μὲν
ναῦν ἀπελίθωσε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὄρει περικαλύπτει.
26 Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν πατρίδα
εὑρίσκει τὸν οἶκον διεφθαρμένον· νομίσαντες γὰρ
αὐτὸν τεθνάναι Πηνελόπην ἐμνῶντο ἐκ Δουλιχίου
27 μὲν νζ΄· Ἀμφίνομος Θοας Δημοπτόλεμος Ἀμφί-
μαχος Εὔρυαλος, Πάραλος Εὐηνορίδης Κλυτίος
Ἀγήνωρ Εὐρύπυλος, Πυλαιμένης[1] Ἄκαμας Θερ-
σίλοχος Ἄγχιος Κλύμενος, Φιλόδημος Μενε-
πτόλεμος Δαμάστωρ Βίας Τέλμιος, Πολύιδος
Ἀστυλοχος Σκεδίος Ἀντίγονος[2] Μάρψιος, Ἰφι-
δαμας Ἀργεῖος Γλαῦκος Καλυδωνεὺς Ἐχίων,
Λάμας Ἀνδραίμων Ἀγέρωχος Μέδων Ἄγριος,
Πρόμος Κτήσιος Ἀκαρνὰν Κύκνος Ψηνᾶς, Ἑλλά-
νικος Περίφρων Μεγασθένης Θρασυμηδὴς Ὁρμέ-
νιος, Διοπείθης Μηκιστεὺς Ἀντίμαχος Πτολεμαῖος
28 Λεοτροφίδης,[3] Νικόμαχος Πολυποίτης Κεραός. ἐκ
δὲ Σάμης κγ΄· Ἀγέλαος Πείσανδρος Ἔλατος
Κτήσιππος Ἱππόδοκος, Εὐρυστρατος Ἀρχέμολος[4]
Ἴθακος Πεισήνωρ Ὑπερήνωρ, Φερσίτης[5] Ἀντι-
σθένης Κέρβερος Περιμήδης Κύννος, Θρίασος
Ἐτεωνεὺς Κλυτίος Πρόθοος Λύκαιθος,[6] Εὔμηλος
29 Ἴταιος[7] Λύαμος. ἐκ δὲ Ζακύνθου μδ΄· Εὐρύ-

[1] Πυλαιμένης Kerameus : Παλαιμένης S.
[2] Ἀντίγονος Kerameus : Ἀνήγονος S.
[3] Kerameus conjectured Νεοτροφίδης : Wagner Θεσπρωτίδης.
[4] Kerameus conjectured Ἀρχέμορος or Ἀρχέμαχος.
[5] Kerameus conjectured Φιλοίτιος.
[6] Λύκαιθος Kerameus : Λυκάεθος S.
[7] Bücheler conjectured Ἴταμος.

[1] See Homer, *Od.* vi., vii., viii., xii. 1–124; Hyginus, *Fab.* 125.

[2] See Homer, *Od.* xii. 125–187. "Poseidon does not pro-

sent him away with a convoy to his native land.[1] But Poseidon was wroth with the Phaeacians, and he turned the ship to stone and enveloped the city with a mountain.[2]

And on arriving in his native land Ulysses found his substance wasted; for, believing that he was dead, suitors were wooing Penelope.[3] From Dulichium came fifty-seven: Amphinomus, Thoas, Demoptolemus, Amphimachus, Eurvalus, Paralus, Evenorides, Clytius, Agenor, Eurypylus, Pylaemenes, Acamas, Thersilochus, Hagius, Clymenus, Philodemus, Meneptolemus, Damastor, Bias, Telmius, Polyidus, Astylochus, Schedius, Antigonus, Marpsius, Iphidamas, Argius, Glaucus, Calydoneus, Echion, Lamas, Andraemon, Agerochus, Medon, Agrius, Promus, Ctesius, Acarnan, Cycnus, Pseras, Hellanicus, Periphron, Megasthenes, Thrasymedes, Ormenius, Diopithes, Mecisteus, Antimachus, Ptolemaeus, Lestorides, Nicomachus, Polypoetes, and Ceraus. And from Same there came twenty-three: Agelaus, Pisander, Elatus, Ctesippus, Hippodochus, Eurystratus, Archemolus, Ithacus, Pisenor, Hyperenor, Pherocles, Antisthenes, Cerberus, Perimedes, Cynnus, Thriasus, Eteoneus, Clytius, Prothous, Lycaethus, Eumelus, Itanus, Lyammus. And from Zacynthos came forty-four:—

pose to bury the city, but to shut it off from the use of its two harbours (*cp. Od.* vi. 263) by some great mountain mass" (Merry, on verse 152).

[3] The number of the suitors, according to Homer, was one hundred and eight, namely, fifty-two from Dulichium, twenty-four from Same, twenty from Zacynthus, and twelve from Ithaca. See Homer, *Od.* xvi. 245–253. Apollodorus gives the numbers from these islands as fifty-seven, twenty-three, forty-four, and twelve respectively, or a hundred and thirty-six in all. Homer does not give a regular list of the names, but mentions some of them incidentally.

λοχος Λαομήδης Μόλεβος[1] Φρένιος Ἴνδιος, Μίνις[2] Λειώκριτος[3] Πρόνομος Νίσας Δαήμων, Ἀρχέστρατος[4] Ἱππόμαχος Εὐρύαλος Περίαλλος Εὐηνορίδης, Κλυτίος Ἀγήνωρ Πόλυβος Πολύδωρος Θαδύτιος,[5] Στράτιος [Φρένιος Ἴνδιος] Δαισήνωρ Λαομέδων, Λαόδικος Ἅλιος Μάγνης Ὀλοίτροχος[6] Βάρθας, Θεόφρων Νισσαῖος Ἀλκάροψ Περικλύμενος Ἀντήνωρ, Πέλλας Κέλτος
30 Περίφας Ὄρμενος Πόλυβος, Ἀνδρομήδης. ἐκ δὲ αὐτῆς Ἰθάκης ἦσαν οἱ μνηστευόμενοι ιβ' οἵδε· Ἀντίνοος Πρόνοος Λειώδης Εὐρύνομος Ἀμφίμαχος, Ἀμφίαλος Πρόμαχος Ἀμφιμέδων Ἀρίστρατος Ἕλενος, Δουλιχιεὺς Κτήσιππος.

31 Οὗτοι πορευόμενοι εἰς τὰ βασίλεια δαπανῶντες τὰς Ὀδυσσέως ἀγέλας εὐωχοῦντο. Πηνελόπη δὲ ἀναγκαζομένη τὸν γάμον ὑπέσχετο ὅτε τὸ ἐντάφιον Λαέρτῃ πέρας ἕξει, καὶ τοῦτο ὑφῆνεν ἐπὶ ἔτη τρία, μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν ὑφαίνουσα, νύκτωρ δὲ ἀναλύουσα. τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐξηπατῶντο οἱ μνηστῆρες ὑπὸ
32 τῆς Πηνελόπης, μέχρις ὅτε ἐφωράθη. Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ μαθὼν τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, ὡς ἐπαίτης πρὸς Εὔμαιον οἰκέτην ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ Τηλεμάχῳ ἀναγνωρίζεται, καὶ παραγίνεται εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Μελάνθιος δὲ αὐτοῖς συντυχὼν ὁ αἰπόλος οἰκέτης ὑπάρχων ἀτιμάζει. παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια τοὺς μνηστῆρας μετῄτει τροφήν, καὶ

[1] Bücheler conjectured Μούλιος.
[2] Kerameus conjectured Μύνης.
[3] Λειώκριτος Wagner (comparing Homer, *Od.* ii. 242): Λαόκριτος S.
[4] Ἀρχέστρατος Kerameus: Ἀρχέστατος S.
[5] Bücheler conjectured Θαλύτιος.
[6] Ὀλοίτροχος Bücheler: Ὀλοίροχος S.

Eurylochus, Laomedes, Molebus, Phrenius, Indius, Minis, Lioeritus, Pronomus, Nisas, Daemon, Archestratus, Hippomachus, Euryalus, Periallus, Evenorides, Clytius, Agenor, Polybus, Polydorus, Thadytius, Stratius, Phrenius, Indius, Daesenor, Laomedon, Laodicus, Halius, Magnes, Oloetrochus, Barthas, Theophron, Nissaeus, Alcarops, Periclymenus, Antenor, Pellas, Celtus, Periphas, Ormenus, Polybus and Andromedes. And from Ithaca itself the suitors were twelve, to wit: —Antinous, Pronous, Liodes, Eurynomus, Amphimachus, Amphialus, Promachus, Amphimedon, Aristratus, Helenus, Dulicheus, and Ctesippus.

These, journeying to the palace, consumed the herds of Ulysses at their feasts.[1] And Penelope was compelled to promise that she would wed when the shroud of Laertes was finished, and she wove it for three years, weaving it by day and undoing it by night. In this way the suitors were deceived by Penelope, till she was detected.[2] And Ulysses, being apprized of the state of things at home, came to his servant Eumaeus in the guise of a beggar,[3] and made himself known to Telemachus,[4] and arrived in the city. And Melanthius, the goatherd, a servant man, met them, and scorned them.[5] On coming to the palace Ulysses begged food of the suitors,[6] and

[1] As to the reckless waste of the suitors, see Homer, *Od.* xiv. 80–109.

[2] As to Penelope's web, see Homer, *Od.* xix. 136–158; Hyginus, *Fab.* 126.

[3] As to the meeting of Ulysses and Eumaeus, see Homer, *Od.* xiv. 1–492; Hyginus, *Fab.* 126.

[4] As to the meeting and recognition of Ulysses and Telemachus, see Homer, *Od.* xvi. 1–254.

[5] See Homer, *Od.* xvii. 184–253.

[6] See Homer, *Od.* xvii. 360–457.

εὑρὼν μεταίτην Ἶρον καλούμενον διαπαλαίει αὐτῷ. Εὐμαίῳ δὲ μηνύσας ἑαυτὸν καὶ Φιλοιτίῳ,[1] μετὰ τούτων[2] καὶ Τηλεμάχου τοῖς μνηστῆρσιν ἐπιβου-
33 λεύει. Πηνελόπῃ δὲ τοῖς μνηστῆρσι τίθησιν Ὀδυσσέως τόξον, ὃ παρὰ Ἰφίτου ποτὲ ἔλαβε, καὶ τῷ τοῦτο τείναντί φησι συνοικήσειν. μηδενὸς δὲ τεῖναι δυναμένου, δεξάμενος Ὀδυσσεὺς τοὺς μνηστῆρας κατετόξευσε σὺν Εὐμαίῳ καὶ Φιλοιτίῳ καὶ Τηλεμάχῳ. ἀνεῖλε δὲ καὶ Μελάνθιον καὶ τὰς συνευναζομένας τοῖς μνηστῆρσι θεραπαίνας, καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἀναγνωρίζεται.

34 Θύσας δὲ Ἅιδῃ καὶ Περσεφόνῃ καὶ Τειρεσίᾳ, πεζῇ διὰ τῆς Ἠπείρου βαδίζων εἰς Θεσπρωτοὺς παραγίνεται καὶ κατὰ τὰς Τειρεσίου μαντείας θυσιάσας ἐξιλάσκεται Ποσειδῶνα. ἡ δὲ βασιλεύ-

[1] καὶ Φιλοιτίῳ Kerameus: καὶ τῷ παιδὶ Φιλοιτίου S.

[2] τούτων Frazer: τούτου S. Eumaeus as well as Philoetius was privy to the plot, as we know from Homer (*Od.* xxi. 188–244) and as Apollodorus himself recognizes a few lines below.

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[1] See Homer, *Od.* xviii. 1–107; Hyginus, *Fab.* 126. In Homer it is in a boxing match, not in a wrestling bout, that Ulysses vanquishes the braggart beggar Irus. Hyginus, like Apollodorus, substitutes wrestling for boxing.

[2] See Homer, *Od.* xxi. 188–244.

[3] See Homer, *Od.* xxi. 1–82; Hyginus, *Fab.* 126.

[4] See Homer, *Od.* xxi. 140–434, xxii. 1–389; Hyginus, *Fab.* 126.

[5] See Homer, *Od.* xxii. 417–477.

[6] See Homer, *Od.* xxiii. 153–297, xxiv. 205–348.

[7] Tiresias had warned Ulysses that, after slaying the suitors, he must journey inland till he came to a country where men knew not the sea, and where a wayfarer would mistake for a winnowing fan the oar which Ulysses was carrying on his shoulder. There Ulysses was to sacrifice a ram, a bull, and a boar to Poseidon, the god whom he had

finding a beggar called Irus he wrestled with him.[1] But he revealed himself to Eumaeus and Philoetius, and along with them and Telemachus he laid a plot for the suitors.[2] Now Penelope delivered to the suitors the bow of Ulysses, which he had once received from Iphitus; and she said that she would marry him who bent the bow.[3] When none of them could bend it, Ulysses took it and shot down the suitors, with the help of Eumaeus, Philoetius, and Telemachus.[4] He killed also Melanthius, and the handmaids that bedded with the suitors,[5] and he made himself known to his wife and his father.[6]

And after sacrificing to Hades, and Persephone, and Tiresias, he journeyed on foot through Epirus, and came to the Thesprotians, and having offered sacrifice according to the directions of the soothsayer Tiresias, he propitiated Poseidon.[7] But Callidice,

offended. See Homer, *Od.* xi. 119–131. But the journey itself and the sacrifice are not recorded by Homer. In a little island off Cos a Greek skipper told Dr. W. H. D. Rouse a similar story about the journey inland of the prophet Elias. The prophet, according to this account, was a fisherman who, long buffeted by storms, conceived a horror of the sea, and, putting an oar on his shoulder, took to the hills and walked till he met a man who did not know what an oar was. There the prophet planted his oar in the ground, and there he resolved to abide. That is why all the prophet's chapels are on the tops of hills. This legend was published by Dr. Rouse in *The Cambridge Review* under the heading of "A Greek skipper."

This and the remaining part of Apollodorus are probably drawn from the epic poem *Telegony*, a work by Eugammon of Cyrene, of which a short abstract by Proclus has been preserved. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 57 *sq.* The author of the abstract informs us that after the death and burial of the suitors "Ulysses sacrificed to the nymphs and sailed to Elis to inspect the herds. And he was entertained by Polyxenus and received a present of a

ουσα τότε Θεσπρωτῶν Καλλιδίκη καταμένειν
35 αὐτὸν ἠξίου τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ δοῦσα.[1] καὶ
συνελθοῦσα αὐτῷ γεννᾷ Πολυποίτην. γήμας δὲ
Καλλιδίκην Θεσπ, ωτῶν ἐβασίλευσε καὶ μάχῃ τῶν
περιοίκων νικᾷ τοὺς ἐπιστατεύσαντας. Καλλι-
δίκης δὲ ἀποθανούσης, τῷ παιδὶ τὴν βασιλείαν
ἀποδιδοὺς εἰς Ἰθάκην παραγίνεται, καὶ εὑρίσκει
ἐκ Πηνελόπης Πολ, πόρθην αὐτῷ γεγεννημένον.[2]
36 Τηλέγονος δὲ παρὰ Κίρκης μαθὼν ὅτι παῖς Ὀδυσ-
σέως ἐστίν, ἐπὶ τὴν τούτου ζήτησιν ἐκπλεῖ. παρα-
γενόμενος δὲ εἰς Ἰθάκην τὴν νῆσον ἀπελαύνει[3]
τινὰ τῶν βοσκημάτων, καὶ Ὀδυσσέα βοηθοῦντα
τῷ μετὰ χεῖρας δόρατι Τηλέγονος <τρυγόνος>[4]
κέντρον τὴν αἰχμὴν ἔχοντι τιτρώσκει, καὶ Ὀδυσ-
37 σεὺς θνῄσκει. ἀναγνωρισάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ

[1] Bücheler conjectured διδοῦσα.

[2] γεγενημένα Wagner comparing Pausanias, viii. 12. 6, : γεγενημένην S : γεγεννημένην Kerameus.

[3] ἀπελαύνει Bücheler : ἀπέλανε S.

[4] <τρυγόνος> inserted by Bücheler.

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bowl. And after that followed the episodes of Trophonius, and Agamedes, and Augeas. Then he sailed home to Ithaca and offered the sacrifices prescribed by Tiresias. And after these things he went to the Thesprotians and married Callidice queen of the Thesprotians. Then the Thesprotians made war on the Brygians, under the leadership of Ulysses. There Ares put Ulysses and his people to flight, and Athena engaged him in battle; but Apollo reconciled them. And after Callidice's death, Polypoetes, son of Ulysses, succeeded to the kingdom, and Ulysses himself went to Ithaca. Meanwhile Telegonus, sailing in search of his father, landed in Ithaca and ravaged the island; and marching out to repel him Ulysses was killed by his son in ignorance. Recognizing his error, Telegonus transported his father's body, and Telemachus, and Penelope to his mother, and she made them

who was then queen of the Thesprotians, urged him to stay and offered him the kingdom; and she had by him a son Polypoetes. And having married Callidice, he reigned over the Thesprotians, and defeated in battle the neighbouring peoples who attacked him. But when Callidice died he handed over the kingdom to his son and repaired to Ithaca, and there he found Poliporthes, whom Penelope had borne to him.[1] When Telegonus learned from Circe that he was a son of Ulysses, he sailed in search of him. And having come to the island of Ithaca, he drove away some of the cattle, and when Ulysses defended them, Telegonus wounded him with the spear he had in his hands, which was barbed with the spine of a sting-ray, and Ulysses died of the wound.[2] But when

immortal. And Telegonus married Penelope, and Telemachus married Circe." The tradition, mentioned also by Hyginus (*Fab.* 127), that one son of Ulysses (Telegonus) married his father's widow (Penelope), and that another son (Telemachus) married his father's concubine (Circe), is very remarkable, and may possibly point to an old custom according to which a son inherited his father's wives and concubines, with the exception of his own mother. Compare Apollodorus, ii. 7. 7, with the note (vol. i. p. 269). Apollodorus mentions the marriage of Telegonus to Penelope (see below), but not the marriage of Telemachus to Circe.

[1] Compare Pausanias, viii. 12. 6, from whom we learn that the birth of this son Poliporthes or Ptoliporthes, as Pausanias calls him, was mentioned in the epic poem *Thesprotes*.

[2] Compare Oppian, *Halieut.* ii. 497–509; *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, ed. G. Dindorf, vol. i. p. 6; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 134; Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* xi. 133, p. 1676; Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* vi. 32; *id. Heroica*, iii. 42; Parthenius, *Narrat. Amat.* 3; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 794; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 303; Cicero, *Tusculan. Disput.* ii. 21. 48 *sq.*; Horace, *Od. s.* iii 29. 8; Hyginus, *Fab.* 127; Ovid, *Ibis*, 567 *sq.*; Dictys Cretensis, *Bellum Trojanum*, vi. 14 *sq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.*

πολλὰ κατοδυράμενος, τὸν νεκρὸν <καὶ>[1] τὴν Ηηνελόπην πρὸς Κίρκην ἄγει. κἀκεῖ τὴν Ηηνελόπην γαμεῖ. Κίρκη δὲ ἑκατέρους αὐτοὺς εἰς Μακάρων νήσους ἀποστέλλει.

38 Τινὲς δὲ Ηηνελόπην ὑπὸ Ἀντινόου φθαρεῖσαν λέγουσιν ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσέως πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Ἰκάριον ἀποσταλῆναι, γενομένην[2] δὲ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας κατὰ
39 Μαντίνειαν ἐξ Ἑρμοῦ τεκεῖν Πᾶνα· ἄλλοι δὲ δι' Ἀμφίνομον ὑπὸ Ὀδυσσέως αὐτοῦ[3] τελευτῆσαι· διαφθαρῆναι γὰρ αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τούτου λέγουσιν.
40 εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες ἐγκαλοῦσαν Ὀδυσσέα ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπολωλότων δικαστὴν

[1] καὶ inserted by Wagner comparing the *Telegonia*; see *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 58.

[2] γενομένην Bücheler: γενομένης S.

[3] αὐτοῦ Bücheler: αὐτὸν S.

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11. 44. The fish (τρυγών), whose spines are said to have barbed the fatal spear, is the common sting ray (*Trygon pastinaca*), as I learn from Professor D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, who informs me that the fish is abundant in the Mediterranean and not uncommon on our southern coasts. For ancient descriptions of the fish he refers me to Oppian, *Halieut.* ii. 470 *sqq.* (the *locus classicus*; Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* i. 56; Nicander, *Ther.* 828 *sqq.* According to Aelian, the wound inflicted by the sting ray is incurable. Hercules is said to have lost one of his fingers by the bite of a sting ray (Ptolemy Hephaest., *Nov. Hist.* ii. in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci*, p. 184). Classical scholars, following Liddell and Scott, sometimes erroneously identify the fish with the torpedo. The death of Ulysses through the wound of a sting ray is foreshadowed in the prophecy of Tiresias that his death would come from the sea (Homer, *Od.* xi. 134 *sq.*). According to a Scholiast on Homer (*Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, ed. G. Dindorf, vol. i. p. 6), Hyginus and Dictys Cretensis, Ulysses had been warned by an oracle or a dream to beware of his son, who would kill him; accordingly, fearing to be slain by Telemachus, he banished him to Cephallenia (Dictys Cretensis, vi. 14). But

Telegonus recognized him, he bitterly lamented, and conveyed the corpse and Penelope to Circe, and there he married Penelope. And Circe sent them both away to the Islands of the Blest.

But some say that Penelope was seduced by Antinous and sent away by Ulysses to her father Icarius, and that when she came to Mantinea in Arcadia she bore Pan to Hermes.[1] However others say that she met her end at the hands of Ulysses himself on account of Amphinomus,[2] for they allege that she was seduced by him. And there are some who say that Ulysses, being accused by the kinsfolk of the slain, submitted the case to the judgment of

he forgot his son Telegonus, whom he had left behind with his mother Circe in her enchanted island. The death of Ulysses at the hands of his son Telegonus was the subject of a tragedy by Sophocles. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 105 *sqq.*

[1] A high mound of earth was shown as the grave of Penelope at Mantinea in Arcadia. According to the Mantinean story, Ulysses had found her unfaithful and banished her the house; so she went first to her native Sparta, and afterwards to Mantinea, where she died and was buried. See Pausanias, viii. 12. 5 *sq.* The tradition that Penelope was the mother of Pan by Hermes (Mercury) is mentioned by Cicero (*De natura deorum*, iii. 22. 56). According to Duris, the Samian, Penelope was the mother of Pan by all the suitors (Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 772). The same story is mentioned also by Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 44), who says that Penelope was supposed to have given birth to Pan during her husband's absence, and that when Ulysses came home and found the monstrous infant in the house, he fled and set out afresh on his wanderings.

[2] Amphinomus was one of the suitors of Penelope; his words pleased her more than those of the other suitors, because he had a good understanding. See Homer, *Od.* xvi. 394–398. He was afterwards killed by Telemachus (Homer, *Od.* xxii. 89 *sqq.*). The suspicion that Penelope was unfaithful to her husband has no support in Homer.

Νεοπτόλεμον λαβεῖν τὸν βασιλεύοντα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἤπειρον νήσων, τοῦτον δέ, νομίσαντα ἐκποδὼν Ὀδυσσέως γενομένου Κεφαλληνίαν καθέξειν, κατακρῖναι φυγὴν αὐτοῦ, Ὀδυσσέα δὲ εἰς Αἰτωλίαν πρὸς Θόαντα[1] τὸν Ἀνδραίμονος παραγενόμενον τὴν τούτου θυγατέρα γῆμαι, καὶ καταλιπόντα παῖδα Λεοντοφόνον ἐκ ταύτης γηραιὸν τελευτῆσαι.

[1] Θόαντα Kerameus: θόεντα S.

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[1] Compare Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae*, 14. According to Plutarch's account the kinsmen of the slain suitors rose in revolt against Ulysses; but Neoptolemus, being invited by both parties to act as arbitrator, sentenced Ulysses to banishment for bloodshed, and condemned the friends and relatives of the suitors to pay an annual compensation to

Neoptolemus, king of the islands off Epirus; that Neoptolemus, thinking to get possession of Cephallenia if once Ulysses were put out of the way, condemned him to exile;[1] and that Ulysses went to Aetolia, to Thoas, son of Andraemon, married the daughter of Thoas, and leaving a son Leontophonus, whom he had by her,[2] died in old age.

Ulysses for the damage they had done to his property. The sentence obliged Ulysses to withdraw not only from Ithaca, but also from Cephallenia and Zacynthus; and he retired to Italy. The compensation exacted from the heirs of the suitors was paid in kind, and consisted of barley groats, wine, honey, olive oil, and animal victims of mature age. This payment Ulysses ordered to be made to his son Telemachus.

[2] These last recorded doings of Ulysses appear to be mentioned by no other ancient writer.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

I.—Putting Children on the Fire

(*Apollodorus* I. v. 1)

The story that Demeter put the infant son of Celeus on the fire to make him immortal is told by other ancient writers as well as by Apollodorus,[1] and while there is a general resemblance between the various versions of the legend, there are some discrepancies in detail. Thus, with regard to the child's parents, Apollodorus and Ovid agree with the Homeric hymn-writer in calling them Celeus and Metanira. But Hyginus calls them Eleusinus and Cothonea; while Servius in one passage[2] names them Eleusinus and Cyntinia, and in another passage[3] calls the father Celeus. Lactantius Placidus names them Eleusius and Iliona; and the Second Vatican Mythographer calls them Celeus and Ilona. Then, with regard to the child who was put on the fire, Apollodorus agrees with the Homeric hymn writer in calling him Demophon and in distinguishing him from his elder brother Triptolemus. But Ovid, Hyginus, Servius, Lactantius Placidus, and the First Vatican Mythographer call the child who was put on the fire Triptolemus, and make no mention of Demophon. The Second Vatican Mythographer wavers on this point; for, after saying[4] that Demeter received the child Triptolemus to nurse, he proceeds[5] to name the child

[1] See *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 231–274; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 549–562; Hyginus, *Fab.* 147; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 19 and 163; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* ii 382; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 3, 107 (First Vatican Mythographer, 8; Second Vatican Mythographer, 96 *sq.*).

[2] On *Georg.* i. 19. [3] On *Georg.* i. 163.

[4] *Fab.* 96. [5] *Fab.* 97.

who was put on the fire Eleusias. As to the fate of the child who was put on the fire, the Homeric hymn writer merely says that Demeter, angry at being interrupted, threw him on the ground; whether he lived or died the author does not mention. Apollodorus definitely affirms that the child was consumed in the fire; and the Second Vatican Mythographer says that Demeter in her rage killed it. On the other hand, the writers who call the child Triptolemus naturally do not countenance the belief that he perished in the fire, for they record the glorious mission on which he was sent by Demeter to reveal to mankind her beneficent gift of corn. Lastly, the writers are not at one in regard to the well meaning but inquisitive person who interrupted Demeter at her magic rite and thereby prevented her from bestowing the boon of immortality on her nursling. Ovid, in agreement with the Homeric hymn writer, says that the person was the child's mother Metanira; Apollodorus calls her Praxithea, an otherwise unknown person, who may have been the child's sister or more probably his nurse; for Praxithea is not named by the Homeric hymn writer among the daughters of Celeus.[1] Some critics would forcibly harmonize Apollodorus with the hymn writer by altering our author's text in the present passage.[2] On the other hand, Hyginus, Servius, Lactantius Placidus, and the Second Vatican Mythographer say that it was the child's father who by his exclamation or his fear distracted the attention of the goddess and so frustrated her benevolent purpose.

Just as Demeter attempted to make Demophon or Triptolemus immortal by placing him on the fire, so Thetis tried to make her son Achilles immortal in like manner,[3] and so Isis essayed to confer immortality on the infant son of the king of Byblas.[4] All three goddesses were baffled by the rash intervention of affection but ignorant mortals. These legends point to an ancient Greek custom of passing newborn infants across a fire in order to save their lives from the dangers which beset infancy, and which, to the primitive mind, assume the form of demons or other spiritual beings lying in wait to cut short the frail thread of life. The Greek

[1] *vv.* 105 *sqq.* [2] See Critical Note, vol. i. p. 38.
[3] Apollodorus, iii. 13. 6, with the note.
[4] Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 16.

practice of running round the hearth with a child on the fifth or seventh day after birth may have been a substitute for the older custom of passing the child over the fire.[1] Similar customs have been observed for similar reasons in many parts of the world. Thus, in the highlands of Scotland, "it has happened that, after baptism, the father has placed a basket filled with bread and cheese on the pot-hook that impended over the fire in the middle of the room, which the company sit around; and the child is thrice handed across the fire, with the design to frustrate all attempts of evil spirits or evil eyes."[2] In the Hebrides it used to be customary to carry fire round children in the morning and at night every day until they were christened, and fire was also carried about the mothers before they were churched: and this "fire round was an effectual means to preserve both the mother and the infant from the power of evil spirits, who are ready at such times to do mischief, and sometimes carry away the infant."[3] Customs of this sort prevailed in Scotland down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Sometimes the father leaped across the hearth with the child in his arms; "moreover, every person entering the house was required to take up a burning fire-brand from the hearth, and therewith cross himself, before he ventured to approach a new-born child or its mother. It was also customary to carry a burning peat sun-wise round an unbaptised infant and its mother, to protect them from evil spirits."[4] The custom of leaping over a hearth or carrying a child round it, implies that the fireplace is in the middle of the floor, as it used to be in cottages in the highlands of Scotland. Miss Gordon

[1] Suidas, *s.v.* Ἀμφιδρόμια; Scholiast on Plato, *Theaetetus*, p. 160 E.

[2] Th. Pennant, "Second Tour in Scotland," in J. Pinkerton's *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, iii. 383.

[3] M. Martin, "Description of the Western Islands of Scotland," in J. Pinkerton's *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol iii. p. 612.

[4] Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming, *In the Hebrides*, New Edition (London, 1886), p. 101. Compare John Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh and London, 1888), ii. 423.

Cumming describes from her own observation such a cottage in Iona, "with the old fashioned fireplace hollowed in the centre of the earthen floor, and with no chimney except a hole in the middle of the roof."[1] Ancient Greek houses must similarly have had the fireplace in the middle of the floor, and probably in them also the smoke escaped through a hole in the roof.

Sometimes the motive for putting the child on the fire was different, as will appear from the following accounts. In the north-east of Scotland, particularly in the counties of Banff and Aberdeen, "if the child became cross and began to *dwine*, fears immediately arose that it might be a 'fairy changeling,' and the trial by fire was put into operation. The hearth was piled with peat, and when the fire was at its strength the suspected changeling was placed in front of it and as near as possible not to be scorched, or it was suspended in a basket over the fire. If it was a 'changeling child' it made its escape by the *lum* [chimney], throwing back words of scorn as it disappeared."[2] Similarly in Fife we hear of "the old and widespread superstitious belief that a fairy changeling, if passed through the fire, became again the person the fairies had stolen, . . . believed but not acted on by the old women in Fife in an earlier part of this [19th] century."[3] Among the names of Fife, "if a child cries continuously after being dressed at birth, the granny or some other wise elder will say, 'If this bairn on we'll hae to put on the girdle' (the large circular flat baking iron on which scones and oatcake are 'fired'). Sometimes this is actually done, but the practice is rare now, and very few can give the true meaning of the saying. The idea is that the crying child is a changeling, and that if held over the fire it will go up the chimney, while the girdle will save the real child's feet from being burnt as it comes down to take its own legitimate place."[4] Similarly in the Highlands one way of getting rid of a changeling was to seat him on a gridiron, or in a creel, with

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[1] Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming, *op. cit.* p. 100.

[2] W. Gregor, *Notes on the Folk-lore of the North east of Scotland* (London, 1881), pp. 8 *sq.*

[3] *County Folk-lore*, vol. vii. *Fife*, by J. E. Simpkins (London, 1914), p. 32.

[4] *County Folk-lore*, vol. vii. (as above), p. 398.

a fire burning below.[1] This mode of exchanging fairy changelings for real children by putting the changelings on the fire appears to be also Scandinavian; for a story relates how, in the little island of Christianso, to the south-east of Sweden, a mother got rid of a changeling and recovered her own child by pretending to thrust the changeling into the oven; for no sooner had she done so than the fairy mother rushed into the room, snatched up her child, which was a puny, dwining little creature, and gave the woman her own babe back again, saying, "There is your child! I have done by it better than you have by mine." And indeed the returned infant was a fine sturdy child.[2]

A similar custom has been observed by the Jews, for Maimonides writes that "we still see the midwives wrap newborn children in swaddling bands, and, after putting foul-smelling incense on the fire, move the children to and fro over the incense on the fire."[3] Similarly, of the Jakuns, a wild people of the Malay Peninsula, "it is reported that, in several tribes, the children, as soon as born, are carried to the nearest rivulet, where they are washed, then brought back to the house, where fire is kindled, incense of kamunian wood thrown upon it, and the child then passed over it several times. We know from history that the practice of passing children over fire was in all times much practised amongst heathen nations, and that it is even now practised in China and other places."[4] In Canton, in order to render a child courageous and to ward off evil, a mother will move her child several times over a fire of glowing charcoal, after which she places a lump of alum in the fire, and the alum is supposed to assume the likeness of the creature which the child fears most.[5] In the Tenimber and Timorlaut islands (East Indies),

[1] J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1900), p. 39.

[2] B. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology* (London, 1851-1852), iii. 174 *sq.*

[3] Maimonides, quoted by D. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus* (St. Petersburg, 1856), ii. 473.

[4] The Rev. Favre (Apostolic Missionary), *An Account of the Wild Tribes inhabiting the Malay Peninsula*, etc. (Paris 1865), pp. 68 *sq.*

[5] F. Warrington Eastlake, "Cantonese Superstitions about Infants," *China Review*, ix. (1880-1881), p. 303

"in order to prevent sickness, or rather to frighten the evil spirits, the child is, in the first few days, laid beside or over the fire." [1] In New Britain, after a birth has taken place, they kindle a fire of leaves and fragrant herbs, and a woman takes the child and swings it to and fro through the smoke of the fire, uttering good wishes. At the same time a sorcerer pinches up a little of the ashes from the fire, and touches with it the infant's eyes, ears, temples, nose, and mouth, "whereby the child is thenceforth protected against evil spirits and evil magic." [2] In Yule Island, off British New Guinea, "the child at birth is passed across the flames. It seems probable that in this there is the idea of purification by the fire." [3] In Madagascar a child used to be twice carefully lifted over the fire before he was carried out of the house for the first time.[4]

Among the Kafirs of South Africa "the mother makes a fire with some scented wood which gives off an abundance of pungent smoke. Over this smoke the baby is held till it cries violently. It is believed that some people at death become wizards or wizard spirits, and that these evil beings seek malevolently to injure small babies; they cannot abide the smell of the smoke from this scented wood, which they meet as they wander round seeking for prey, and trying to take possession of babies. The wizard is therefore repelled by the odour, and goes on its journey, hunting for a baby which is not so evil smelling. When the baby cries in the smoke the mother calls out, 'There goes the wizard.' This smoking process has to be performed daily with closed doors

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[1] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (The Hague, 1886), p. 393.

[2] R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 70 *sq.* Compare *id. Im Bismarck-Archipel* (Leipsic, 1887), pp. 94 *sq.*; A. Kleintitschen, *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazellehalbinsel* (Hiltrup bei Münster, n.d.), p. 291; *Les Missions Catholiques*, xvii. (Lyons, 1885), p. 110; Dr. Hahl, in *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms Land und den Bismarck-Archipel* (Berlin, 1897), p. 81.

[3] Father Navarre, in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, lix. (Lyons, 1887), p. 185.

[4] W. Ellis, *History of Madagascar* (London, n.d.), i. 151 *sq*

for several weeks, while the mother sings special chants.[1]" So among the Ovambo, a Bantu people of South Africa, when the midwife or an old female friend of the mother has carried a newborn baby out of the hut for the first time, she finds on her return a great fire of straw burning at the entrance, and across it she must stride, while she swings the infant several times to and fro through the thick smoke, "in order to free the child from the evil magic that still clings to it from its birth. According to another version, this swinging through the smoke is meant to impart courage to the child; but the first explanation appears to me to tally better with the views of the natives."[2] At a certain festival, which occurred every fourth year, the ancient Mexicans used to whirl their children through the flames of a fire specially prepared for the purpose.[3] Among the Tarahumares, an Indian tribe of Mexico, "when the baby is three days old the shaman comes to cure it. A big fire is made of corn cobs, the little one is placed on a blanket, and with the father's assistance the shaman carries it, if it is a boy, three times through the smoke to the four cardinal points, making the ceremonial circuit and finally raising it upward. This is done that the child may grow well and be successful in life, that is, in raising corn."[4]

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[1] Dudley Kidd, *Savage Childhood, a Study of Kafir Children* (London, 1906), pp. 18 *sq.*

[2] Hans Schinz, *Deutsch Südwest Afrika* (Oldenburg and Leipsic, n.d.), p. 307.

[3] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States* (London, 1875–1876), iii. 376, note [7], quoting Sahagun, "*rodearlos por las llamas del fuego que tenian aparejado para esto*," which I translate as above. Bancroft translates, "passed the children over, or near to, or about the flame of a prepared fire." The French translators turn the words, "*conduisaient autour d'une flamme qu'on avait préparée pour cet objet*." See B. de Sahagun, *Histoire Générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, traduite par D. Jourdanet et R. Simeon Paris, 1880), p. 166. Compare C. F. Clavigero, *History of Mexico*, translated by C. Cullen, 2nd ed. (London, 1807), i. 317.

[4] C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico* (London, 1903), i. 272.

II.—War of Earth on Heaven

(*Apollodorus* I. vi. 1)

Some Indian tribes of North-Western America tell a story which resembles in certain respects the Greek myth of the war waged by the Earth born Giants on the gods in heaven. The details of the story vary from tribe to tribe, but its substance is the same.

As told by the Pend' d'Oreille Indians of Montana, the story runs as follows:—

The Earth people wanted to make war on the Sky people. Grizzly Bear was their chief, and he called all the warriors together. They were told to shoot in turn at the moon (or sky). All did as they were told, but their arrows fell short. Only Wren had not shot his arrow. Coyote said, "He need not shoot. He is too small, and his bow and arrows are too weak." However, Grizzly Bear declared that Wren must have his turn. Wren shot his arrow, and it hit the moon (or sky) and stuck fast. Then the others shot their arrows, which stuck each in the notch of the preceding one, until they made a chain of arrows that reached from the sky to the ground. Then all the people climbed up, Grizzly Bear being last. He was very heavy; and when he was more than half way up, the chain broke by his weight. He made a spring, and caught the part of the chain above him; and then caused the arrows to pull out at the top, where the leading warriors had made a hole to enter the sky. So the whole chain fell down and left the people up aloft without the means of descending. The Earth people attacked the Sky people, and defeated them in the first battle; but the Sky people soon mustered in such force that they far outnumbered the Earth people, and in the next battle routed them, killing a great many. The defeated Earth people ran for the ladder, but many were overtaken and killed on the way. When they found the ladder broken, each prepared himself the best way he could so as not to fall too heavily, and one after another jumped down. Flying Squirrel was wearing a small robe, which he spread out like wings when he jumped; therefore he has something like wings now. He came down without hurting himself. Whitefish looked down the hole before jumping. When he saw the great depth, he

puckered up his mouth and drew back; therefore he has a small puckered mouth at the present day. Sucker jumped down without first preparing himself, and his bones were broken; therefore the sucker's bones are now found in all parts of its flesh. At that time there were a number of different animals on earth that are not here now; but they were killed in this war and transformed into stars. Had they all come back to earth, there would be many more kinds here now. Those which we have at the present time represent only the survivors of the war.[1]

In this, as in most other versions of the story, the Earth people are conceived as animals, whether beasts, birds or fish. This comes out clearly in a parallel version of the story told by the Indians of the Okanagon tribe in British Columbia. In it we are told that each animal and bird shot at the sky, and that the Fish, Snakes, and Toads also tried, but that only the Chickadee succeeded in hitting the sky with his arrow; and in the fall from heaven the fish fared worst, because they had no wings. According to this version, the Grizzly Bear and the Black Bear were the only animals that were left on earth when all the rest had climbed up the ladder to the sky; and in quarrelling as to which of them should mount the ladder first, the two bears knocked it down.[2]

Similarly the Shuswap tribe of British Columbia tell how "Black Bear and Wolverene were great chiefs, the former of the Fish people, the latter of the Bird people. They assembled the warriors of all the fishes and birds of the earth to go on a war expedition against the people of the sky. All the men shot their arrows up towards the sky, but they fell back without hitting it. Last of all Wren,[3] who was the smallest of all the birds, shot an arrow, which stuck in the sky. The next smallest bird shot an arrow, which hit the end of the first one; and thus they shot arrows; and one stuck in the end of the other, until there was a chain of arrows forming a ladder from earth to sky. On this all the warriors ascended, leaving the two chiefs to guard the bottom. Soon after all

[1] *Folk-tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes*, edited by Franz Boas (Lancaster, Pa., and New York, 1917), p. 118 (*Memoirs of the American Folk Lore Society*, vol. xi).

[2] *Folk-tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes*, p. 85.

[3] "Some say Humming-Bird, others Chickadee."

had reached the sky world, Wolverene and Black Bear began to laugh at each other's tails. Black Bear grew angry, chased Wolverene around the foot of the ladder, struck against it, and knocked it down.

"Meanwhile the earth people had attacked the sky people, and at first were victorious; but afterwards the latter, gathering in great force, routed the earth people, who fled in great disorder towards the top of the ladder. By its fall their retreat was cut off; and many made a stand against the sky people, while others threw themselves down. The birds were able to reach the earth safely, for they could fly down; but many of the fishes, who tried to throw themselves into a large lake, were wounded. In their fall some missed the lake and dropped on rocks. Thus the skull of the *somatsai* came to be flattened, the *kwauk* broke its jaw, the *teokteitem* got a bloody mouth, and the sucker had all its bones scattered and broken, so that it died. The grandson of a man called Teel gathered the bones, put them back into the body, and revived it. This is the reason why the sucker has now so many bones scattered through its flesh, why the *somatsai* has a flat head, the *teokteitem* a red mouth, and why the mouth of the *kwauk* appears to be broken. The earth people who remained above were all slain, and transformed by the sky people into stars."[1]

Thus the story of the attack on the Sky people purports at the same time to explain certain peculiar features of the fauna with which these Indians are acquainted. Animals naturally attract the attention of savages, especially of savage hunters; and the observation of their peculiarities, by exciting the curiosity of the observer, is a fruitful source of explanatory myths.

So far no explanation is given of the reasons which led the Earth people to make war on the Sky people. But in a version of the story told by the Quinault Indians, who inhabit a district on the western coast of Washington State, the motives for the war are fully reported. Raven's two daughters, we are told, went out on the prairie to dig roots, and night overtook them before they could reach home. Camping out in the open, they looked up at the starry sky,

[1] James Teit, *The Shuswap* (Leyden and New York, 1909), p. 749 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. ii. part 7).

and the younger sister said, "I wish I were up there with that big bright star!" And the elder sister said, "I wish I were there with that little star!" Soon they fell asleep, and when they awoke they were up in the sky country, where the stars are; and the younger sister found that her star was a feeble old man, while the elder sister's star was a young man. Now the younger sister was afraid of the old man; so she ran away and tried to descend to earth with the help of a rope, which she borrowed from an old woman called Spider. But the rope proved too short, and there she hung just over her father's house till she died, and her bones dropped down on the ground. Bluejay picked them up and knew them to be the bones of Raven's daughter. So he called Raven, and they agreed that it was so. "And they gathered together all the fragments, and then called upon all the people, and all the animals, and all the birds and fishes, to gather and make an attack upon the Sky People to recover the other sister." The rest of the story follows substantially as in the preceding versions. Having determined to make war on the Sky People, the animals prepared to shoot at the heavenly vault with arrows. So they made a bow of the trunk of a white cedar and an arrow of a limb of a tree. Then Grizzly Bear stepped up to string the bow, but could not bend it; after him, Elk and all the large animals tried, but all failed. At last Wren, the smallest of birds, bent the bow, strung it easily, and shot an arrow, which stuck in the sky. Then with the help of Snail, who aimed the arrows, Wren shot shaft after shaft, so that each stuck in the notch of the preceding one, till the arrows formed a chain that reached from the sky to the earth. Up the chain the animals swarmed to heaven, and there, feeling very cold in the upper air, Beaver contrived to steal fire for them from a house of the Sky People, after Robin Redbreast, Dog, and Wildcat had failed in the attempt. There, too, in a corner of the house, they found Raven's elder daughter. Having procured the fire they sent all the rats and mice among the Sky People to gnaw through all the bowstrings of the men and all the girdles of the women, and all fastenings of any kind which they could find. So, when all was ready, the Earth People attacked. The Sky men tried to use their bows, but the bowstrings were cut. The Sky women tried to put on their clothes to run away, but they could not fasten them and they had to stay where they were. Then

the Earth People went from house to house and killed great numbers of the Sky People. At last the Sky People rallied and began to beat back the Earth People. So, taking Raven's daughter with them, they retreated down the chain of arrows, and they had almost all got safely down, when the chain broke. So some were left hanging in the sky, and they can be seen there now in the stars.[1]

The story is told in a somewhat similar form by the Kathlamet Indians, whose territory lay in the south-western part of Washington State to the south of the country owned by the Quinault Indians; but in the Kathlamet version there is no mention of Raven's daughters nor of the chain of arrows. On the other hand it contains the incidents of the stealing of fire by Beaver and of the cutting of the bow-strings and girdles by Mouse and Rat. According to the Kathlamets, it was Bluejay who cut the rope by which, in their version of the tale, the animals had ascended to the sky; and among the creatures who remained up aloft in the shape of stars were the Woodpecker, the Fisher, the Skate, the Elk, and the Deer.[2]

The story of the War on the Sky is told, in the same general form, also by the Kutenai Indians in the interior of British Columbia. Their version includes the incident of the chain of arrows, and describes the shifts to which the animals in heaven were put when the chain of arrows, by which they had ascended, was broken down. The Bats, we are told, flew down, spreading out their blankets as wings. The Flying Squirrel pulled out his skin and used it as wings to fly with. All the fish threw themselves down, but the Sucker was the only one who was broken to pieces. However, he was restored to life by the touch of his brother's widow.[3]

A different account of the origin of the War on the Sky is given in a version of the story recorded among the Indians of

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[1] L. Farrand, *Traditions of the Quinault Indians* [New York] (1902), pp. 107–109 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*). I have abridged the story.

[2] Franz Boas, *Kathlamet Texts* (Washington, 1901), pp. 67–71 (*Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 26).

[3] Franz Boas, *Kutenai Tales* (Washington, 1918), pp. 73–77 (*Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 59).

the Lower Fraser River in British Columbia. They say that the Redheaded Woodpecker and the Eagle had each a son, and that the two youths in pursuit of a beautiful bird were lured on till they came to the sky. The bereaved fathers desired to go up after them, but did not know how to do it. So they called a general assembly of the animals and inquired of them how one may ascend to heaven. First, the Pelican flew up, but returned without reaching the sky. Next the Mole attempted to scale the heavenly heights by burrowing under the water and under the earth, but naturally he failed. Even the Eagle himself, the father of one of the missing youths, could not fly so high, though he tried hard. At last a man or an animal named Tamia, a grandson of Woodpecker's wife, came forward and declared that he had learned in a dream how one may ascend up to heaven. So he painted his hair red, and having adorned his face with a streak of red paint from the forehead down over the nose to the chin, he began to sing. "I am Tamia! I fear not to shoot at the sky," while his grandmother Takt beat time to the song. Having thus attuned himself to the proper pitch, he took his bow and shot arrow after arrow at the sky, until the arrows, as usual, formed a chain stretching right down to the earth. So all the people ascended the chain, vanquished the Sky People in battle, and freed the two sons of the Woodpecker and the Eagle. When they had returned home victorious, they broke down the chain of arrows, or rather the broad road into which the chain had been converted. But they did not notice that the Snail had lagged behind and was still up aloft. So when the Snail came to heaven's gate and found no ladder, he had to throw himself down, and in his fall he broke every bone in his body. That is why he now moves so slowly.[1]

Yet another motive is assigned for the War on the Sky by the Thompson Indians of British Columbia. According to them, that war was caused by the rape of a married woman. The people of the Sky, so they say, stole the wife of Swan, who, in great wrath at this outrage, called all the people of the earth to a council. They agreed to make war on the Sky People, and under the direction

[1] Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas* (Berlin, 1895), pp. 30 *sq.*

of the injured husband, they all gathered together with their bows and arrows and shot at the sky, but all their arrows fell short. After they had all tried in vain, Wren shot an arrow. The people watched it rising till it passed out of sight, and though they waited some time, it never came down again. It had stuck in the sky. Then Wren shot another arrow, which likewise disappeared and did not come down again. It had stuck in the notch of the first one. After he had discharged many arrows, the people saw them sticking one in the end of the other, like a chain hung from the sky. Wren continued to shoot till at last the arrow-chain reached the earth. Then all the people ascended one behind the other over the chain of arrows and entering the upper world (some say through a hole which they tore in the sky) they attacked the Sky People, some of whom consisted of Grizzlies, Black Bears, and Elks. A great battle was fought, in which the Sky People were victorious, and the Earth People began to retreat in great haste down the chain of arrows. When about half the people had reached the ground, the chain broke in the middle, and many were killed by the fall. Others, who were on the chain above the point at which it broke, had to ascend again, and were either killed or made prisoners by the Sky People. Those who reached the earth represent the people, animals, birds, and fishes to be found on the earth at the present time. There were formerly other different animals and birds on the earth, but they either were killed in this war or remain in the sky to this day.[1]

A short version of the story, without the assignment of any motive for the war, is reported from among the Ntlakyapamuq Indians of British Columbia. It includes the usual incident of the sky-reaching chain of arrows.[2]

A somewhat different story of the War on the Sky is told by the Catloltq Indians of Vancouver Island. They say that long ago Turpentine was a blind man, who could not bear the sun's heat and used to go a fishing for red shell-fish by night.

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[1] James Teit, *Mythology of the Thompson Indians* (Leyden and New York, 1912), p. 246 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. viii. part ii.). Another, but briefer, version of the story is reported in the same work (p. 334).

[2] Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, p. 17.

II.—WAR OF EARTH ON HEAVEN

Every morning, when the day began to break, his wife called him back, saying, "Come home quick! The sun is rising." So he always hurried home before it grew warm. But one day his wife slept late, and when she awoke, it was broad day. Horrified by the discovery, she rushed to the beach, shrieking, "Come home quick! The sun is high in heaven." Thus adjured, old Turpentine plied his oars as for dear life, but it was too late; the Sun shone down on him so hot that he melted away before he reached the shore. Indignant at his fate, his two sons resolved to avenge his death by killing the Sun, his murderer. So they took their bows and arrows and went to the place where the Sun rises. There they shot an arrow at the sky, and a second arrow at the first, until the usual ladder of arrows was constructed leading up to heaven. When it was finished, the elder brother shook it to see whether it was strong enough to bear his weight, and finding it quite firm, the two brothers climbed up aloft by it. On reaching the sky they killed the Sun with their arrows. Then they deliberated how to replace the dead luminary and solved the problem very simply; for the elder brother became the Sun, and the younger brother became the Moon [1]

A different motive for the War on the Sky is assigned by the Sanpoil Indians, who live on the Columbia River and belong to the Salish stock.[2] They say that once on a time it rained so heavily that all the fires on earth were extinguished. The animals held a council and decided to make war against the sky in order to bring back the fire. In spring the people began, and tried to shoot their arrows up to the sky. Coyote tried first, but did not succeed. Finally the Chickadee contrived to shoot an arrow which stuck in the sky. He continued to shoot, making a chain of arrows by

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[1] Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, pp. 64 *sq.* The use of a chain of arrows to give access to the sky is a common incident in the folk-tales told by the Indians of North-west America, even in stories in which there is no question of an attack upon the Sky People. See Franz Boas, "Tsimshian Mythology," *Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1916), pp. 364 *sqq.*

[2] F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians* (Washington, 1907–1910), ii. 451.

means of which the animals climbed up. The last to climb was the Grizzly Bear, but so heavy was he that he broke the chain of arrows and so could not join the other animals in the sky.

When the animals reached the sky, they found themselves in a valley near a lake where the people of the sky were fishing. Coyote wished to act as scout, but was captured. Then the Muskrat dug holes along the shore of the lake, and Beaver and Eagle set out to obtain the fire. Beaver entered one of the fish traps and pretended to be dead. They carried him to the chief's house, where the people began to skin him. At this time the Eagle alighted on a tree near the tent. When the people saw the Eagle, they ran out, and at once Beaver took a clam-shell full of glowing coals and ran away. He jumped into the lake, and people tried to catch him in nets; but the water drained away through the holes which Muskrat had made. The animals now ran back to the chain of arrows, which they found broken. Then, as the land could fly down and the quadrupeds could not, each bird took a quadruped on its back and flew down with it. Only Coyote and the Sucker were left up above. Coyote tied a piece of buffalo robe to each paw and jumped down. He sailed down on the skin, and finally landed on a pine-tree. Next morning he showed off his wings, but could not take them off again, and was transformed into a bat. The Sucker had to jump down, and was broken to pieces. The animals fitted his bones together; and, since some were missing, they put pine-needles into his tail. Therefore the Sucker has many bones.[1]

III.—Myths of the Origin of Fire

(*Apollodorus* I. vii. 1)

According to Hesiod and Hyginus, it was from Zeus himself that Prometheus stole the fire which he bestowed on men;[2] and Hyginus clearly conceived the theft to have been perpetrated in heaven, for he speaks of Prometheus bringing

[1] *Folk-tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes*, edited by Franz Boas, pp. 107 *sq.*

[2] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 50 *sqq.*, *Theog.* 565 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii 15.

down the stolen fire to earth in a stalk of fennel;[1] and Latin poets similarly refer to the sky as the source from which our earthly fire was procured by the artful Prometheus.[2] But according to Plato it was from the workshop of Athena and Hephaestus that Prometheus abstracted the fire. The philosopher tells us that when the time appointed for man's creation or appearance out of the earth was at hand, Prometheus, the friend of the human race, was sore puzzled what to do; for no provision had been made for supplying the new creatures with fire, and, without that element, how could the mechanical arts exist? Prometheus himself might not enter the citadel of Zeus, which was guarded by dreadful warders; so he made his way secretly into the workshop where Athena and Hephaestus laboured in common, and, stealing the fire of Hephaestus and the mechanical skill of Athena, he bestowed both these precious gifts on men.[3] This version of the story was known to Lucian, for he represents Hephaestus reproaching Prometheus with having purloined the fire and left his forge cold.[4] Cicero speaks of "the Lemnian theft" of fire committed by Prometheus;[5] which implies that the fire was obtained from the forge of Hephaestus in Lemnos, the island on which Hephaestus fell when he was hurled from heaven by Zeus.[6] Perhaps the origin of fire on earth was mythically explained by this fall of Hephaestus, who may have been supposed to carry it with him in his descent from heaven, and to have used it to light the furnace of his smithy in the island.

The notion that the first fire used by man was stolen from a deity or other fairyland being meets us in many stories told by many savages in many parts of the world. Very often, curiously enough, the thief is a bird or beast; not uncommonly the theft is committed by a number of birds or beasts, which combine together for the purpose. On the other hand, a beast or bird often figures, not as the thief, but as the first owner of fire, and the story relates how the

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[1] Hyginus, *Fab.* 144.
[2] Horace, *Odes*, i. 3. 27 *sqq.*; Juvenal, xv. 84 *sqq.*
[3] Plato, *Protagoras*, 11, p. 321 C–E
[4] Lucian, *Prometheus*, 5.
[5] Cicero, *Tuscul. Disput.* ii. 10. 23.
[6] Homer, *Il.* i. 590 *sqq.*

fire was obtained from the animal or bird and conveyed to men. Tales of the origin, and in particular of the theft, of fire are too numerous to be told here at length; elsewhere I hope to deal with them fully.[1] But it may be worth while to illustrate the nature and wide diffusion of such tales by some examples.

The aborigines of Cape Grafton, on the eastern coast of Queensland, tell of a time when there was no such thing as fire on earth; so Bin-jir Bin-jir, a small wren with a red back (*Malurus* sp.), went up into the skies to get some. He was successful, but lest his friends on earth should have the benefit of it, he hid it away under his tail. Asked on his return how he had fared, he told his friend that his quest had been fruitless. But his friend laughed and said, "Why, you have got some fire stuck on to the end of your tail," referring to the red spot on the bird's back. Bin-jir Bin-jir was therefore obliged to admit that he did get some fire, and readily he showed his friend from what particular wood to extract it by friction.[2] Some of the aborigines of Western Victoria thought that the first fire was procured by a little bird described as a "fire-tail wren," which stole it from the crows, who till then had had sole possession of the valuable element.[3]

According to the Boandik tribe, who used to inhabit the extreme south east corner of South Australia, the first owner of fire was the cockatoo, who kept it jealously hidden in his red crest and produced it from there by scratching his crest whenever he wished to cook his victuals. But he took care to cook his food privately, lest the other cockatoos should learn the secret. However, one little cockatoo contrived to steal some of the fire and communicated it to his fellows.[4] One of the tribes about Maryborough in Queensland related how men originally obtained fire by knocking off a piece of

[1] In a volume, *The Origin of Fire, and other Essays*, to be published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., London.

[2] Walter E. Roth, "Superstition, Magic, and Medicine," *North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 5* (Brisbane, 1903), p. 11.

[3] James Dawson, *Australian Aborigines* (Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide, 1881), p. 54.

[4] Mrs. James Smith, *The Boandik tribe* (Adelaide, 1880), pp. 21 *sq.*

the sun when he rose in the east.[1] The natives about Lake Condah in Victoria said that once upon a time a man threw up a spear to the clouds with a string attached to it. Then he climbed up the string and brought down fire from the sun to the earth.[2]

The natives of the Eastern Islands of Torres Straits, between Australia and New Guinea, say that fire was formerly in possession of an old woman, who kept it in a sixth finger which she had between her finger and thumb. When she wished to kindle a fire, she had only to put this finger under the fuel, and the fuel at once ignited. The animals on another island often saw the smoke of her fire and were envious, for they had no fire of their own. They tried, one after the other, to swim across the channel and get the fire by hook or crook; but they all failed until the big lizard made his way across, bit off the old woman's fiery finger, and swam back with it in his mouth. All the people, or rather all the animals, were very glad to see the fire which he brought to them. They all went into the wood and everyone got a branch from the tree he liked best; they asked each tree to come and get a fire-stick. All the trees came and got fire and have kept it ever since; and men obtain their fire-sticks from the trees.[3]

The natives of Kiwai, an island off the mouth of the Fly River in New Guinea, say that fire was first produced on the mainland of New Guinea by two men. All animals tried to steal some of the fire and to swim across to Kiwai with it, but they all failed. The birds also failed in the attempt, till at last the black cockatoo succeeded in bringing a burning stick in his beak. But his mouth was terribly burnt by the fire; and he has had a red spot on both sides of his mouth from that day to this. He let the fire-stick drop at Iasa; and the people secured it, and have had fire ever since.[4]

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[1] A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), p. 432.

[2] R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria* (Melbourne and London, 1878), i. 462

[3] *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vi. (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 29 *sq.*

[4] Rev. J. Chalmers, "Note on the Natives of Kiwai Island," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) p. 188. For other versions of the same story, see

The cockatoo here referred to belongs no doubt to the genus *Microglossa*, "whose wholly black plumage is relieved by their bare cheeks of bright red."[1]

Some people in Kiwai give a different account of the origin of fire. They say that the method of making fire was discovered accidentally or through the advice of a spirit by sawing wood with a bamboo rope or a bowstring: the friction first made the wood warm and then elicited smoke and flame.[2]

At Wagawaga, on Milne Bay, near the south-eastern extremity of New Guinea, they say that people used to cook their yams and taro in the sun, because they were ignorant of fire. But a certain old woman had fire in her body and used to draw it out from between her legs when she wished to cook her own food. She carefully kept the secret from other people; but a boy detected her in the act of making fire and contrived to steal a fire-brand from her. This was the beginning of the general use of fire among men.[3] A similar story is told by the natives of Dobu, an island belonging to the D'Entrecasteaux group which lies to the east of New Guinea,[4] and also by the natives of the Trobriand Islands, to the north of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands.[5]

In the Admiralty Islands, to the north of New Guinea, the natives say that in the beginning there was no fire on

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Gunnar Landtman, *The Folk-tales of the Kiwai Papuans* (Helsingfors, 1917), pp. 331 *sq.* (*Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, vol. xlvii); W. N. Beaver, *Unexplored New Guinea* (London, 1920), p. 174.

[1] Alfred Newton and Hans Gadow, *A Dictionary of Birds* (Cambridge, 1893–1896), p. 93.

[2] Gunnar Landtman, *op. cit.* pp. 83, 334 *sq.*

[3] C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 379 *sq.*

[4] Rev. W. E. Bromilow, "Dobuan (Papuan) beliefs and folk lore," *Report of the Thirteenth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Sydney, 1911* (Sydney, 1912), pp. 425 *sq.*

[5] The story was recorded in the Trobriands by Dr. B. Malinowski, who was good enough to communicate it to me.

earth. A woman sent the sea-eagle and the starling to fetch fire from heaven. The two birds brought it, and since then people have cooked their food by fire; were it not for these two birds we should still have to dry our food in the sun. But on their flight down to earth, the two birds shifted the fire between them. The starling took the fire and carried it on the back of his neck, and the wind blew up the flame, so that it singed the bird. That is why the starling is now so small and the fish-eagle so big.[1]

The Maoris of New Zealand tell how fire was procured for the earth by the great primordial hero Maui. He got it from his grandmother, Mahuika, the goddess of fire, who at his request produced fire successively from all the nails of her fingers and toes, one after the other. A great conflagration followed, which was extinguished by heavy rain. What little fire escaped extinction took refuge in certain trees, from which it is still elicited by friction.[2] Substantially the same myth, with local variations, is told in many parts of Polynesia, as in the Chatham Islands,[3] Tonga,[4] Savage Island,[5] Samoa,[6] Bowditch Island,[7] the Union Islands,[8] the

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[1] Josef Meyer, "Mythen und Sagen der Admiralitäts-insulaner," *Anthropos*, ii. (1907), pp. 659 *sq.*

[2] Sir George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology* (London, 1855), pp. 45–49. For briefer versions of the story, see R. Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*[2] (London, 1870), pp. 130 *sq.*; John White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*, ii. (London and Wellington, 1889), pp. 108–110.

[3] A. Shand, *The Moriori People of the Chatham Islands* (Washington and New Plymouth, 1911), p. 20 (*Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, vol. ii.).

[4] Le P. Reiter, "Traditions Tonguiennes," *Anthropos*, xii.–xiii. (1917–1918), pp. 1026 1040; E. E. Collcott, "Legends from Tonga," *Folk-lor*, xxxii (1921), pp. 45–48.

[5] G. Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), pp. 211 *sq.*; (Sir) Basil Thomson, *Savage Island* (London, 1902), pp. 86 *sq.*

[6] G. Turner, *op. cit.* pp. 209 211; J. B. Stair, *Old Samoa* (London, 1897), pp. 238 *sq.*

[7] G. Turner, *op. cit.* p. 270.

[8] (Sir) Basil Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 87.

Hervey Islands,[1] and the Marquesas Islands.[2] Everywhere the fire bringer is the human or superhuman hero Maui, but there is some variation in regard to the name and sex of the deity from whom he obtained the fire. Sometimes the deity appears as a female and sometimes as a male, sometimes as the grandmother and sometimes as the grandfather of the hero; and her or his name is variously given as Mahuika, Mahuike, Mauika, Mauike, Muimoetua, Mafuie, and Mafuike. In the Maori myth the realm of the fire-goddess would seem to be in the sky, for the hero speaks of fetching down fire for the world. But in almost all the other versions the home of the fire deity is definitely subterranean, and the hero has to descend into the nether world in order to procure the fire. Sometimes the fire-god only yields the fire on compulsion after a struggle with the hero, in which the deity gets the worst of it. In the Chatham Islands version, as in the Maori version, the fire-god produces the fire from his fingers. In the Marquesas version the fire goddess produces the fire from her toes, knees, back, and navel; but in the other versions which I have cited nothing is said about the fire being extracted from the body of the deity. While the fire bringer Maui is clearly conceived as a hero in human form, he is sometimes said to have assumed the form of a bird in order either to obtain access to the realm of the fire deity or to escape from the conflagration which followed his interview with that potentate. Thus in the Maori version the hero Maui is said to have assumed the form of an eagle; in one of the two Hervey Islands versions he is reported to have entered temporarily into the body of a red pigeon; while in the Marquesas version he concealed himself under the form of a *patroloo* bird. A version of the story which is reported from the Hawaii or Sandwich Islands relates how Maui learned the art of fire making from an *alae* bird, which used to carry fire about and communicate it to its fellow-birds in order that they might roast bananas or taro with it. Being

[1] W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific* (London, 1876), pp. 51–58, 63–69.

[2] E. Tregear, "Polynesian folk lore; ii.: The Origin of Fire," *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, xx. (1887), pp. 385–387.

caught by Maui, the bird explained to him how to make fire by rubbing two sticks together, and indicated to him the various sorts of trees from which fire-sticks could be procured. As all but one of these trees proved on trial to be quite unsuitable for the purpose, Maui in a rage applied a burning brand to the bird's head, as you may still see by the red crest on its poll.[1] In one of the Hervey Islands versions the fire-god employed a bird of white plumage, the tern, to hold down the lower fire-stick, while he himself twirled the upper fire-stick in the usual way to elicit fire. But Maui snatched the burning upper stick from the fire-god's hands, and as the bird continued to clutch the lower stick, the hero applied the flaming stick in his hands to either side of the bird's eyes and scorched both places. That is why you see the black marks on either side of the tern's eyes down to this day. Thus while the human aspect of the fire-bringer certainly prevails in the Polynesian myths of the origin of fire, there are hints that in another and perhaps older version of the tale he may have been a bird rather than a man.

The natives of Nukufetau, one of the Ellice Islands, give a very rationalistic account of the origin of fire. They say that fire was discovered by seeing smoke rise from two crossed branches which were rubbed against each other in the wind.[2]

The Toradyas of Central Celebes say that the Creator gave fire to the first man and woman, but did not teach them how to make it. So when the fire went out, people were at a loss how to boil their rice. Accordingly they resolved to send a messenger to the sky to ask for a little fire, for in those days the sky was much nearer to the earth than it is now. The messenger chosen for the purpose was a certain insect named *tambooya*. When the insect came to the sky and asked for fire, the gods said, "We will give you fire; but you must cover your eyes with your hands, that you may not see how we make it." But the gods did not know that the insect had an eye under each shoulder; so while he lifted up his arms

[1] A. Bastian, *Inselgruppen in Oceanien* (Berlin, 1883), pp. 278 *sq.*; *id.*, *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde* (Berlin, 1888), i. 120 *sq.*

[2] G. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 285 *sq.*

to hide his eyes in his head, he saw with his eyes under his arms how the gods made fire by striking a flint with a chopping-knife, and on his return to earth he communicated the secret to mankind who have made fire in that way ever since.[1]

The natives of Nias, an island to the west of Sumatra, say that in the olden time certain evil spirits called Belas used to consort with mankind in a friendly way, but only the Belas knew how to make fire, and they kept the secret to themselves, though they were willing enough to lend fire to men. One day a man, whose fire had gone out, went to borrow it from the wife of a Bela. To prevent him from seeing how she made it, she proposed to cover him up with a garment. But he said, "I can see through a garment; put a basket over me." She did so, but while she made fire, he looked through the interstices of the basket, and so learned the secret.[2]

The Andaman Islanders say that after the great flood, which extinguished all fires on earth, the ghost of a drowned man assumed the form of a kingfisher and flew up to the sky, where he discovered the Creator seated beside his fire. The bird seized a burning log in its beak, but accidentally dropped it on the Creator, who, smarting with pain, hurled the brand at the awkward bird. The missile missed the kingfisher but dropped near the survivors of the flood, who thus recovered the use of fire.[3]

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[1] A. C. Kruijt, "De legenden der Poso-Alfoeren aangaande de eerste menschen," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, xxxviii. (1894), pp. 340 *sq.*; N. Adriani en Alb. C. Kruijt, *De Bare'e sprekende Toradjas van Midden-Celebes* (Batavia, 1912–14), ii. 186 *sq.*

[2] L. N. H. A. Chatelin, "Godsdienst en bijgeloof der Niassers," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxvi. (1880), p. 132; E. Modigliani, *Un Viaggio à Nias* (Milan, 1890), pp. 629 *sq.* Compare H. Sundermann, *Die Insel Nias* (Barmen, 1905), p. 70.

[3] E. H. Man, *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands* (London, n.d.) pp. 98 *sq.* Compare *Census of India*, 1901, vol. iii. *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, by Sir Richard C. Temple (Calcutta, 1903), p. 63; M. V. Portman, "The Andaman fire-legend," *The Indian Antiquary*, xxvi. (1897), pp. 14–18.

III.—THE ORIGIN OF FIRE

The Thay or Tai of Siam have likewise a legend of a great flood which extinguished all fires on earth. The survivors sent three several messengers, a man, a serpent, and an owl, one after the other, to the Spirit of the Sky to procure fire, but none of them succeeded in the task. At last they applied to the gad-fly, and he willingly undertook the duty, only stipulating that if he succeeded in his mission he should be free thenceforth to batten on the thighs of buffaloes and the legs of men. His terms being accepted, the gad-fly flew up to the sky. Now the eyes of a gad-fly are not in its head but at the root of its wings; at least the Thay think so. But when Sky asked the gad-fly, "Where are your eyes?" the cunning insect replied, "They are just where other people's eyes are." "Then," pursued the Sky, "where will you shut yourself up so as to see nothing?" The artful gad-fly answered, "I see through the sides of a pitcher just as if they did not exist; but put me in a basket with interstices, and I see absolutely nothing." The simple-minded Sky accordingly put the gad-fly in a basket with interstices and set about making fire by the process of drawing a cord rapidly to and fro in the notch of a stick. Ensconced in the basket, the gad-fly saw the whole process and communicated the secret to men.[1] In this story the gad-fly's trick of peeping through the interstices of a basket resembles the trick played by the man in the corresponding story from Nias.[2]

The Ba-ila, a tribe of Northern Rhodesia, in South Africa, tell how the Mason-Wasp brought fire from God. They say that formerly there was no fire on earth, so all the birds assembled together and asked, "Whence shall we get fire?" Mason-Wasp offered to go to God to get some, and the Vulture, the Fish-Eagle, and the Crow volunteered to go with him. So they all flew off; but first the Vulture, then the Fish-Eagle, and then the Crow expired with the effort, and their bones fell to the earth. Only Mason-Wasp won his way to God and told him that he was come to ask for fire. God gave him fire and his blessing as well, saying, "You shall not have to beget children. When you desire a child, go and look into a grainstalk and you will find an insect

[1] A. Bourlet, "Les Thay," *Anthropos*, ii. (1907), pp. 921-24. [2] See above, p. 334.

whose name is Ngongwa. When you have found him, take and carry him into a house. When you arrive in the house, look out for the fireplace where men cook, and build there a dwelling for your child Ngongwa. When you have finished building, put him in and let him remain there. When many days have elapsed, just go and have a look at him; and one day you will find he has changed and become just as you are yourself." So it is to-day: Mason-Wasp builds a house, looking for the fireplace, just as he was commanded by God.[1]

This African account of the origin of fire on earth is explained as follows by the writers who have recorded it: "The Mason Wasp, the Prometheus of the Ba-ila, with its indigo-blue wings, yellow abdomen, and black and orange legs, is a common object in Central Africa. It builds its cell of mud not only on the fireplaces, as the tale narrates, but also (and this is a great nuisance) on walls, books, and pictures in one's dwelling. In the cell it lays its eggs, together with a caterpillar or grub, and seals them up; then it builds other cells, until quite a large unsightly lump of clay is left on the wall. As the young grubs hatch out they eat the insects which have been benumbed, but not killed, by the sting of their parent. We have here an interesting example of how the observation of natives is correct up to a certain point; but not taking into consideration, because they have not noticed, all the facts, the conclusion they draw is wrong. They suppose Ngongwa to metamorphose into a Mason Wasp; and this tale is to explain why it is so, as well as to account for the domestic fire."[2]

A very different story of the origin of fire is told by the Basongo Meno, a group of tribes in the Congo basin, whose territory lies to the north of the Sankuru and Kasai rivers. They say that from the earliest times they have made their fishing traps out of the ribs of the Raphia palm. One day a man, constructing such a trap, wished to bore a hole in the end of one of the ribs, and he used a small pointed stick for the purpose. In the process of boring fire was elicited, and this method of procuring fire has been employed ever since.

[1] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1920), ii. 345 *sq.*

[2] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *op. cit.* ii. 346 *sq.*

Hence large plantations of Raphia palm are maintained by the people to supply them with fire-sticks.[1]

In Loango they say that once on a time the spider spun a long, long thread, and that the wind caught one end of the thread and carried it up to the sky. Then the woodpecker climbed up the thread, and pecking at the celestial vault made those holes in it which we call stars. After the woodpecker had thus ascended, man also clambered up the thread to the sky and fetched down fire.[2]

The Ekoi of Southern Nigeria, on the borders of the Cameroons, say that in the beginning of the world, the Sky God, Obassi Osaw, made everything, but he did not give fire to the people who were on earth. A chief named Etim 'Ne sent the Lame Boy, who at that time was not lame, to the Sky God to ask for fire. The Lame Boy went and proffered the request, but the Sky God refused it angrily and sent him back to earth. Next the chief went himself to the deity and humbled himself before him; but he fared no better and had to return home empty-handed. Thereupon the Lame Boy undertook to steal fire from the Sky God. With that view he went and took service with the Sky God, and after he had served the deity for some days, the god said to him, "Go to the house of my wives, and ask them to send me a lamp." The boy gladly did as he was bidden, for it was in the house of the god's wives that the fire was kept. He waited till the lamp was given him, and then brought it back with all speed. Once, after he had stayed many days among the servants, the Sky God Obassi sent him again for a lamp, and this time one of the wives said, "You can light the lamp at the fire." The boy took a brand and lighted the lamp, then he wrapped the brand in plantain leaves and tied it up in his cloth. He carried the lamp to his master; but that night, when all the people were asleep, he took the fire-brand which he had wrapped in plantain leaves, and carrying it he set out homeward. When he reached the earth once more, he took the fire to his chief and showed it to him. So the first fire was made on earth. But looking down from his house in the sky the god, Obassi Osaw, saw the smoke rising,

[1] E. Torday et T. A. Joyce, *Les Bushongo* (Brussels, 1910), pp. 275 *sq.*

[2] *Die Loango-Expedition*, iii. 2, von E. Pechuel-Loesche (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 135.

and he said to his eldest son, "Go, ask the boy if it is he who has stolen the fire." His eldest son came down to earth and delivered his father's message. The lad confessed, saying, "I was the one who stole the fire. The reason why I hid it was because I feared." The god's eldest son, whose name was Akpan, replied, "I bring you a message. Up till now you have been able to walk From to-day you will not be able to do so any more." That is the reason why the Lame Boy cannot walk. He it was who first brought fire to earth from Obassi's house in the sky.[1]

The Lengua Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco say that in early times men, being unable to produce fire, were compelled to eat their food raw But one day an Indian found a fire which a certain bird had kindled in order to cook snails In the bird's absence he stole some of the burning sticks and communicated the fire to his friends, who that night cooked their food for the first time. When the bird, soaring up in the sky, saw the Indians sitting round the stolen fire, he was very angry, and created a great thunderstorm, accompanied by terrible lightning, which terrified the people. Hence, whenever it thunders, it is a sign that the thunder bird is angry and is seeking to punish the Indians by fire from the sky; for ever since the bird lost its fire it has had to eat its food raw.[2]

The Tapietes, an Indian tribe of the Gran Chaco, say that of old the black vulture obtained fire by means of lightning from heaven, while as yet the Indians had no fire. However, a frog stole two sparks from the black vulture's fire and brought them in his mouth to the Tapietes. Since then the Tapietes have had fire, and the black vulture has had none. Robbed of his fire, the black vulture sat down with his hands over his head and wept.[3]

The Tembes, an Indian tribe of north-eastern Brazil, in the province of Grao Para, say that formerly fire was in the possession of the king vulture. The Tembes, being destitute

[1] P. Amaury Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush* (London, 1912), pp. 370 *sq.*

[2] W. B. Grubb, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land* (London, 1911), pp. 97-99.

[3] E. Nordenskiold, *Indianerleben. El Gran Chaco* (Leipsic, 1912), pp. 313 *sq.* For other stories of the origin of fire, see *id.*, pp. 21 *sq.*, 110 *sq.*

of fire, had to dry their meat in the sun. So they resolved to steal fire from the king vulture. For this purpose they killed a tapir and let it lie for three days, after which the carcase was rotten and full of maggots. The king vulture and his clan now came down to partake of the feast. They pulled off their garments of feathers and appeared in human form. They had brought with them a fire-brand, and with it they kindled a great fire. They gathered the maggots, wrapped them in leaves, and roasted them. Then the Tembes, who had lain in ambush ran to the spot, but the vultures flew up and bore the fire to a place of safety. Thus the Indians exerted themselves in vain for three days. Then they built a hunting-shelter beside the carrion, and an old medicine-man hid in it. The vultures came again and kindled their fire close to the shelter. And when they had laid aside their feather-garments and were roasting the maggots, the old man jumped out on them. The vultures at once made for their cast-off garments, the old man snatched a fire-brand, and by means of it he put fire into all the trees from which the Indians now extract it by friction.[1]

The Arekuna Indians of northern Brazil tell of a certain man named Makunaima, who lived with his brothers long ago before the great flood. They had as yet no fire and were compelled to eat all their food raw. So they sought for fire and found the little green bird called by the natives *mutug* (*Prionites momota*) which was said to be in possession of fire. The bird was in the act of fishing, and Makunaima tied a string to its tail without its knowledge. The string was very long, and following it up the brothers came to the bird's house, from which they carried away fire with them. Afterwards there came a great flood, and a certain rodent, which the natives call *akuli* (*Dasyprocta aguti*), saved itself from drowning by creeping into a hole in a tree and bunging up the hole. There in the hole the creature made fire; but the fire caught the animal's hinder quarters and changed into red hair. Hence the beast has had red hairs on that part of its body to this day.[2]

[1] Th. Koch-Grünberg, *Indianermärchen aus Südamerika* (Jena, 1920), No. 65, pp. 186 *sq.*

[2] Th. Koch-Grünberg, *Vom Roroima zum Orinoco* (Berlin, 1916–17), ii. 33–36. For another story of the origin of fire, told by the Taulipang Indians of the same region, see *id.* ii. 76.

APPENDIX

The Tarumas, an Indian tribe inhabiting the forests in the south-eastern region of British Guiana say that in the beginning two brothers only lived on earth; there was no woman. Afterwards the younger brother Duid fished up the first woman from a deep pool and married her. The two brothers lived in separate houses near each other. They had always eaten their food raw, having no fire to cook it with; but they noticed that the woman ate nothing raw except fruit. At last, after many years, when she was an old woman and had borne many children, the elder brother forced her by threats of violence to reveal her secret. So she sat down, and spreading her legs wide apart produced fire from her genital canal. From that fire is descended the fire which we now use. One day as Duid was sitting on the bank of the river with his fire beside him, an alligator came and snapped up the fire in its jaws and carried it off. However, Duid's elder brother recalled the alligator and induced it to disgorge its fiery prey. The fire itself was uninjured, but it had burned out the alligator's tongue, and in consequence the alligator has been tongueless ever since. Another day, soon afterwards, a marondi picked up Duid's fire and flew away with it. Again the elder brother came to the rescue. The bird was recalled and gave back the fire, but her neck was burned and has remained red to this day. Another day, when Duid was absent, a jaguar came along, and stepping on the fire burned his feet so badly that he has never since been able to plant them flat on the ground, but must walk on his toes. A tapir also came along and trod on the fire, and he is so slow in his movements that he was very badly burned and has had hoofs ever since.[1]

The Cora Indians of Mexico tell how in former times the iguana, a species of lizard, was in possession of fire, and how, having quarrelled with his wife and his mother-in-law, he retired to the sky, taking the fire with him. Thus there was no more fire on earth, because the iguana had carried it all away and kept it hidden up aloft. So the people assembled and consulted. They determined to send the raven up to the sky to fetch the fire down, but he failed in the attempt; so

[1] W. C. Farabee, *The Central Arawaks* (Philadelphia, 1918), pp. 143-47 (*University of Pennsylvania, Anthropological Publications*, vol. ix.).

did the humming-bird, and all the other birds. At last the opossum contrived to climb up to the sky. There he found an old man sitting by a fire. When the old man fell asleep, the opossum seized a firebrand and dragged it towards the abyss by which the way to earth went down. Being overtaken by the old man, the opossum threw down the fire. It fell on the ground and set the earth on fire. But the earth goddess extinguished the conflagration with her milk. The people carried away the fire, and it remained with them.[1]

The Sia Indians of New Mexico say that Spider was the creator of men and all animals. He lived in a house underground, and there he made fire by rubbing a sharp-pointed stone on a round flat stone. But having kindled the fire, he kept it in his house, setting a snake, a cougar, and a bear to guard the first, second, and third door, that no one might enter and see the fire. So people on earth had no fire and grew weary of browsing on grass like deer. They sent the coyote to steal fire for them from the nether world. He went, passed the warders at the doors of Spider's house, because they were all asleep, and made his way into the room where Spider himself was slumbering beside the fire. Coyote hastened to the fire and lighted at it a cedar brand which was tied to his tail. Then he hurried away, and Spider awoke; but before he could rouse the sleeping warders, coyote was far on his way with the fire to the upper world.[2]

The Navahoes of New Mexico say that when men first emerged from the earth, they found the animals already in possession of fire, though they themselves had none. But the coyote, the bat, and the squirrel, being friends of men, agreed to aid each other in procuring fire for mankind. So while the animals were busy playing the moccasin game, Coyote appeared on the scene with splinters of resinous pine-wood tied to his tail. While the attention of the animals was absorbed by the game, Coyote dashed through the fire, the splinters attached to his tail took fire, and with his fiery train he fled, pursued by all the animals. When he was exhausted, he passed the fire to the bat, and when the bat in

[1] K. Th. Preuss, *Die Nayarit-Expedition*, i. (Leipsic, 1912), pp 177–81.

[2] Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Sia," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 26 *sq.*, 70, 72 *sq.*

turn could run no more, he transmitted the fire to the squirrel, who contrived to carry it safe to the Navahoes.[1]

This arrangement of relays of animal runners, who pass the stolen fire from one to another, is a common feature in North American myths of the origin of fire. A typical story of this sort, for example, is told by the Uintah Utes of north-eastern Utah. They relate how Coyote and his people the Eagle, the Humming-bird, the Hawk-Moth, the Chicken-Hawk, and so on, had no fire, and how, led by Coyote, they started out in search of it, till at last they came to the village of people who had fire. There, dancing round the fire, Coyote contrived to ignite the shredded bark which he had stuck on his head in imitation of hair. Having thus secured the fire, he ran off with it, pursued by the people whose fire he had stolen. Growing tired, he passed the fire first to Eagle, who in turn transmitted it to Humming-bird, and so on. Finally, Coyote succeeded in bringing the precious fire, in a tube of old dry sagebrush, to his people, and explained to them how to make fire by boring a hole in a piece of sagebrush with a piece of greasewood.[2] In this tale, as in many others of the same sort, the actors bear the names of animals or birds but are conceived in some measure as human. The confusion is not necessarily a product of totemism; the lack of the power to discriminate clearly between animals and men is rather a cause than an effect of totemism.

The Sioux, Menomonis, Foxes, and several other Indian tribes in the valley of the Mississippi, used to relate, like many other peoples, that the few survivors of the great flood were left without fire. To remedy this inconvenience the Master of Life sent a white raven to carry fire to them. But the bird stopped by the way to batten on carrion and allowed the fire to go out. For this negligence the Great Spirit punished him by making him black instead of white. Then the Great Spirit sent a little grey bird (the *orbette*) as his messenger to carry fire to the man and woman, who alone had escaped from the flood. The bird did as he was bidden, and the

[1] Major E. Backus, "An account of the Navajoes of New Mexico," in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1853–1856), iv. 281 *sq.*

[2] A. L. Kroeber, "Ute Tales," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, xiv. (1901), pp. 252–260.

Great Spirit rewarded him by giving him two little black bars on each side of his eyes. Hence the Indians regard the bird with great respect; they never kill it themselves, and they forbid their children to shoot it. Moreover, they imitate the bird by painting two little black bars on each side of their own eyes.[1]

The Karok Indians of California say that in the early ages of the world men were without fire. For the Creator had hidden the fire and given it to two old hags to guard jealously. However, the Coyote, who was friendly to men, contrived to procure fire for them by stealing it from the two hags and passing it along a line of animal runners. Amongst the runners was the ground-squirrel, and the black spot which you see to this day just behind his fore-shoulders is the mark of the fire which burned him there when he was carrying it. Another of the runners was the frog. In those days he had a tail, but as he could not hop fast enough, one of the old hags, who came tearing after the fire-thief, caught him up and tweaked off his tail. That is why frogs have no tails down to this day.[2]

The Tolowa Indians of California say that after the great flood there was no fire left on earth. However, the Spider Indians and the Snake Indians contrived by means of a captive balloon to ascend to the moon and to steal fire from the Indians who inhabited the lunar orb.[3] The Maidu Indians of California relate how once Thunder carried off all the fire and kept it in his house, setting Woswosim (a small bird) to guard it and to prevent people from stealing it. However, with the help of two Lizards the people discovered the house of Thunder by its smoke, and they sent Mouse, Deer, Dog, and Coyote to get the fire, and they took a flute with them in which to carry the fire when they should get it. Mouse contrived to steal the fire while the watcher slept, and the stolen element was given to the

[1] François-Vincent Badin, in *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, iv. (Lyons and Paris, 1830), pp. 537 *sq.*

[2] S. Powers, *Tribes of California* (Washington, 1877), pp. 38 *sq.* (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. iii.).

[3] S. Powers, *op. cit.* pp. 70 *sq.* For other stories of the origin of fire, see *id.*, pp. 161, 182, 273, 343 *sq.*

swiftest runner to carry in the tube. But Deer carried some of it in the hock of his leg, and that is why there is a reddish spot in his hock to this day. While they were making off with the fire, Thunder awoke, jumped up with a roar like thunder, and came tearing after the thieves. But Skunk shot him dead. So the people got home safely with the fire, and they have had it ever since.[1]

While in the more southern tribes of North America the animal which is most commonly supposed to have procured fire for men is the coyote, in the more northerly tribe the place of the coyote in the myth is taken by other animals or birds, such as the deer, the beaver, the mink, and the raven. For example, among the tribes of Vancouver Island the thief of fire is usually the deer, who steals it in much the same way as the coyote, by tying resinous shavings of pine wood to his tail or his head and then whisking his tail or butting with his head through the fire, so that the shavings ignite and the animal makes off with its tail or head ablaze and with the usual hue and cry after it. Such stories are told, for example, by the Nootkas or Ahts,[2] the Catloltq,[3] the Thlathlasikoala,[4] and the Kwakiutl[5] Indians, all of Van-

[1] Rowland B. Dixon, "Maidu Myths," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, xvii. part ii. (New York, 1902), pp. 65-67.

[2] G. M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* (London, 1868), pp. 178 *sq.*; George Hunt, "Myths of the Nootka," in "Tsimshian Mythology," by Franz Boas, *Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1916), pp. 894-896. Compare Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord Pacifischen Küste Amerikas* (Berlin, 1895), p. 102. In this last version Deer fails in his attempt to steal fire from the Wolves, its owners; but the theft is successfully perpetrated by Woodpecker and a creature called Kwatyath, who, in carrying the fire, inadvertently put it to his cheek and so burned a hole in his cheek, which may be seen there to this day.

[3] Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, pp. 80 *sq.*

[4] Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, p. 187.

[5] George M. Dawson, "Notes and Observations on the Kwakiool people of Vancouver Island," *Transactions of the*

couver Island. Myths of the same sort are current among the tribes on the adjacent coast of British Columbia, such as the Awikenoq[1] and the Tsimshian.[2] Among the Heiltsuk, another tribe on the coast of British Columbia, the Deer is said to have borne a title meaning the Torch-bearer, because he stole the fire by means of wood tied to his tail.[3]

In a myth told by the Thompson Indians, who inhabit the interior of British Columbia, the Coyote reappears as the first thief of fire, who stole it in the usual way by dancing round a fire with a head-dress of combustible shavings and then running away as soon as the shavings ignited. The parallel with the southern myths is completed by a chain of animals, including Fox, Wolf, and Antelope, to which Covote passed the fire, and who ran with it till they succumbed, one after the other.[4] But in other versions of the myth told by the Thompson Indians the thief of fire is the Beaver, assisted by the Eagle or by the Eagle and the Weasel together.[5] A very similar story of the theft of fire is told by the Lillooet Indians, who are neighbours of the Thompson Indians. In

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Royal Society of Canada, vol. v. section ii. (1887), p. 22. In another Kwakiutl version of the myth the thief is not the Deer but the Mink, who stole the first fire for men from the ghosts. See Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, p. 158.

[1] Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, pp. 213 *sq.*

[2] Franz Boas, "Tsimshian Mythology," *Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1916), p. 63.

[3] Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, p. 241.

[4] James A. Teit, "Thompson Tales," in *Folk-tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes*, edited by Franz Boas (Lancaster, Pa., and New York, 1917), p. 2 (*Memoirs of the American Folk-lore Society*, vol. xi.).

[5] James Teit, "Mythology of the Thompson Indians," *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. viii part ii. (Leyden and New York, 1912), pp. 229 *sq.* 338 *sq.* (*Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*); *id. Traditions of the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia* (Boston and New York, 1898), pp. 56 *sq.*

their version also the thief is the Beaver, and his accomplice is the Eagle, who diverts the attention of the owners of the fire, while Beaver conveys it away in a clam shell.[1] A like tale is told by the Okanaken Indians, who form the most easterly division of the Salish stock in British Columbia. In their version the fire is stolen from the sky people by the animals who climb up to the sky along a chain of arrows constructed in the way which has been already described.[2] Having reached the upper world in this manner, Beaver and Eagle are deputed to secure the fire, and they do so as before, Eagle attracting the attention of the Sky people, while Beaver makes off with the fire, which he has stowed away for safety under his skin. On reaching the top of the ladder of arrows in order to descend to earth, the animals scuffle among themselves as to who should go down first, and in the scuffle the ladder breaks before they could all descend by it. Hence some of them had to jump down, and Catfish and Sucker broke their heads in leaping, which explains why their heads are so funny to this day.[3] An almost precisely similar story is told by the Sanpoil Indians, another tribe of the Salish stock who live in Washington State.[4]

The Chilcotin Indians, in the interior of British Columbia, tell how in the old days there was no fire in the world except in the house of one man, who would not give it to anybody. But Raven contrived to steal fire from him by the familiar device of tying pitchwood shavings in his hair, dancing round the man's fire, and then poking his head in the fire, so that the shavings ignited. Thus Raven got fire and used it to kindle conflagrations all over the country. When the woods began to burn, the animals ran for their

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[1] James Teit, "Traditions of the Lillooet Indians of British Columbia," *Journal of American Folk-lore*, xxv. (1912), pp. 299 *sq.*

[2] See above, Appendix, "War of Earth on Heaven," pp. 318 *sqq.*

[3] C. Hill-Tout, "Report on the Ethnology of the Okanaken of British Columbia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xli. (1911), p. 146.

[4] See above, Appendix, "War of Earth on Heaven," pp. 325 *sq.*

lives and most of them escaped; but the rabbit did not run fast enough, and the fire caught him up, and burned his feet. That is why rabbits have black spots on the soles of their feet to this day. And after the trees had caught fire, the fire remained in them, which is the reason why wood burns to day, and why you can get fire by rubbing two sticks together.[1]

The Haida Indians of Queen Charlotte Islands say that long ago people had neither fire, nor daylight, nor fresh water, nor the olachen fish, all these good things being in the possession of a great chief or deity who lived where is now the Nasse River, and who kept them all to himself. But the cunning Raven contrived to steal all these boons from the selfish chief or deity and to communicate them to mankind. The way in which he stole fire was this. He did not dare to appear in his proper shape in the chief's house; but assuming the form of a leaf of the spruce fir he floated on the water near the house. Now the chief had a daughter, and when she went down to draw water, she drew up the leaf along with it, and afterwards, taking a draught of the water, she swallowed the leaf. Shortly afterwards she conceived and bore a child, who was no other than the subtle Raven. Thus Raven gained an entry into the lodge. Watching his chance, he one day picked up a burning brand, and donning his coat of feathers (for he could don and doff his plumage at will) he flew out of the smoke hole, carrying fire with him and spreading it wherever he went.[2]

The Thngit Indians of Alaska also tell of the wonderful doings of Raven in the early days of the world. They say that fire did not then exist on the earth, but only on an island in the sea. Raven flew thither, and picking up a

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[1] Livingston Farrand, "Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians." *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. ii part i. ([New York], 1900), p. 3 (*Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*).

[2] G. M. Dawson, *Report on the Queen Charlotte Islands*, 1878 (Montreal, 1880), pp. 149B–151B (*Geological Survey of Canada*). A less romantic version of the Haida story is current in the Masset dialect. See John R. Swanton, "Haida texts—Masset dialect," *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. x. part ii. (Leyden and New York, 1908), pp. 315 *sq.*

firebrand in his bill returned. But so great was the distance that when he came to land the brand was almost consumed, and even Raven's bill was half burnt off. As soon as he reached the shore, he dropped the glowing embers on the ground, and the scattered sparks fell on stones and wood. And that, the Tlingit say, is the reason why both stones and wood still contain fire; for you can strike sparks from stones by striking them with steel, and you can produce fire from wood by rubbing two sticks together.[1]

In another Tlingit version of the myth it is said that in the beginning men had no fire. But Raven (Yetl) knew that Snow-Owl, who lived far out in the ocean, guarded the fire. He commanded all men, who in those days still had the form of animals, to go, one after the other, to fetch fire; but none of them succeeded in bringing it. At last the Deer, who then had a long tail, said, "I will take fir wood and tie it to my tail. With that I will fetch fire." So he ran to the house of Snow Owl, danced round the fire, and at last whisked his tail close to the flames. Then the wood on his tail caught fire, and he ran away. Thus it came about that his tail was burnt off, and since that time the Deer has had only a stumpy tail.[2]

In Normandy they say that long ago there was no fire on earth and it was necessary to fetch fire from heaven. The people applied to the big birds, but they refused to undertake the task. At last the little wren offered to go, and succeeded in bringing back the fire to earth. But on the return journey all the wren's feathers were burnt by the fire; and to supply their place the other birds out of gratitude gave each a feather from his own plumage. Since that time the wren's plumage has been speckled. The only bird that would not give a feather to clothe the wren was the screech-owl. All the birds attacked him to punish him for his

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[1] H. J. Holmberg, "Ueber die Völker des Russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ*, iv. (Helsingfors, 1856), p. 339; Alph. Pinart, "Notes sur les Kolouches," *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, IIme série, vii. (1872), pp. 798 *sq.*; Aurel Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer* (Jena, 1885), p. 263.

[2] Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, p. 314.

hardness of heart. Hence he is forced to hide himself by day and only comes out at night.[1] Hence in Normandy the wren is much respected, and people believe that some misfortune would befall him who should kill the bird.[2] Some say that fire from heaven would strike the house of any bad boy who should kill a wren or rob its nest.[3]

In Brittany the same story is told of the wren, and there is the same unwillingness to hurt the bird. At Saint Donan they say that if little children touch a wren's young ones, they will catch St. Lawrence's fire: that is, they will suffer from pimples or pustules on the face, legs, and other parts of the body.[4] But in some parts of Brittany the same story is told of the robin redbreast. They say it was he who fetched the fire, and in doing so he burnt all his feathers, whereupon the other birds reclothed him by each one giving him a feather. Only the screech-owl refused to lend a feather; hence, if he shows himself by day, all the little birds cry out on him.[5] In Guernsey they say that robin redbreast was the first who brought fire to the island. But while he was crossing the water, the fire singed his feathers, and hence his breast has been red ever since.[6]

At Le Charme, in the Département of Loiret, the story goes that the wren stole the fire of heaven and was descending with it to earth, but his wings caught fire and he was obliged to entrust his precious burden to robin redbreast. But robin burned his breast by hugging the fire to it; hence he in turn had to resign the office of fire-bearer. Then the lark took up the sacred fire, and carrying it safe to earth

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[1] Jean Fleury, *Littérature orale de la Basse Normandie* (Paris, 1883), pp. 108 *sq.* Compare Amélie Bosquet, *La Normandie Romanesque et Merveilleuse* (Paris and Rouen, 1845), pp. 220 *sq.*

[2] Alfred de Nore, *Coutumes, Mythes, et Traditions des Provinces de France* (Paris and Lyons, 1846), p. 271.

[3] Amélie Bosquet, *op. cit.* p. 221.

[4] P. Sébillot, *Traditions et Superstitions de la Haute Bretagne* (Paris, 1882), ii. 214 *sq.*

[5] P. Sébillot, *Traditions et Superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne*, ii. 209 *sq.*

[6] Charles Swainson, *The Folk-lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* (London, 1886), p. 16.

delivered the treasure to mankind.[1] This story resembles the American fire myths in which the stolen fire is said to have been passed on from one to another along a line of animal runners.[2]

IV.—Melampus and the Kine of Phylacus

(*Apollodorus* I. ix. 12)

The story of Melampus and the kine of Phylacus or of Iphiclus is told by the Scholiast on Homer, who cites as his authority the seventh book of Pherecydes.[3] Since this version of the legend contains some picturesque details, which are omitted by Apollodorus, and probably affords a fair specimen of the manner of the early mythographer Pherecydes, it may be worth while to submit it to the reader in a translation. As printed by Dindorf in his edition of the Scholia on Homer, the tale runs as follows[4]:

"Neleus, son of Poseidon, had a daughter named Pero, of surpassing beauty, but he would give her in marriage to none except to him who should first drive away from Iphiclus at Phylace the cows of his (that is, of Neleus's) mother Tyro.[5] When all hesitated, Bias, son of Talaus,[6] alone undertook to do it, and he persuaded his brother Melampus

[1] E. Rolland, *Faune Populaire de la France*, ii (Paris, 1879), p. 294; P. Sébillot, *Le Folk-lore de France* (Paris, 1904–1907), iii. 156. [2] See above, pp. 341 *sqq.*

[3] Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 287.

[4] *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, ed. G. Dindorf (Oxford, 1855), vol. ii. pp. 498 *sq.*

[5] The cows belonged originally to Tyro, the mother of Neleus. But when Neleus was under age, Iphiclus stole the kine and kept them. On growing up, Neleus demanded back the cattle, but Iphiclus refused to return them. Hence Neleus was driven to promise the hand of his beautiful daughter Pero to anyone who should succeed in recovering the stolen kine. See Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 292, p. 1685. Phylace was in Thessaly (Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 290).

[6] According to Apollodorus (i. 9. 13), Talaus was not the father but the son of Bias.

to achieve the task. And he, although as a soothsayer he knew that he should be kept a prisoner for a year, went to Othrys[1] to get the cows. The watchmen there and the herdsmen caught him in the act of stealing, and handed him over to Iphiclus. And he was kept in bonds with two servants, a man and a woman, who were put in charge of him. Now the man treated him kindly, but the woman treated him scurvily. But when the year was nearly up, Melampus heard some worms overhead saying among themselves that they had gnawed through the beam. On hearing that, he called the attendants and bade them carry him out, the woman taking hold of the bed by the foot, and the man by the head. So they took him up and carried him out. But meantime the beam broke and fell on the woman and killed her. The man reported to Phylacus what had happened, and Phylacus reported it to Iphiclus. And they came to Melampus and asked him who he was. He said he was a soothsayer. And they promised to give him the cows if he should discover some means whereby Iphiclus might beget children. On this subject they gave mutual pledges. And Melampus sacrificed an ox to Zeus and cut it into portions for all the birds, and they all came, save one vulture. And Melampus asked all the birds if any of them knew means whereby Iphiclus might have children. And being all puzzled, they brought the vulture. He at once discovered the cause of the inability to beget children. For while Iphiclus was still a child, Phylacus had pursued him with a knife because he saw him misbehaving; then not catching him up, Phylacus stuck the knife in a certain wild pear-tree and the bark had grown round it, and on account of his fright Iphiclus had no longer the power to get children. So the vulture advised them to get the knife from the wild pear-tree, and wiping off the rust from it to give it in wine to Iphiclus to drink for ten days; for by that means he would get children. And having done so, Iphiclus recovered his virility and got a son Podarces. And he gave the cows

[1] Accepting the correction Ὄθρυν, proposed by Barnes and approved by Buttmann, for the MS. reading Ὀρήν or Ὀφρύν. For Othrys, see Theocritus, iii. 43:

τὰν ἀγέλαν χὤ μάντις ἀπ' Ὄθρυος ἆγε Μελάμπους
ἐς Πύλον.

to Melampus, who took them and brought them to Pylus and gave them to Neleus as a bridal gift for Pero; and he got her as a bride for his brother Bias. And children were born to him, namely, Perialces and Aretus and Alphesiboea. The story is to be found in the seventh book of Pherecydes."

The story is told in a nearly identical form by Eustathius, but without mentioning his authority.[1] He adds, however, one or two touches to the narrative which deserve to be noticed. Thus he says that when Melampus heard the worms conversing overhead, he pretended to be ill and availed himself of this pretence in order to have himself transported from the house which was so soon to collapse; and again he tells us that Melampus invited all the birds to the sacrifice except the vulture, and that he questioned them all as to the means by which Iphiclus could beget children, but that none of them could answer, until last of all the vulture appeared and explained the matter. After concluding his version of the story, Eustathius calls attention to a scholium on Theocritus which adds a notable feature to the tale. According to the scholium, Phylacus, the father of Iphiclus, was gelding animals at the time when he frightened his little son by threatening him with the knife; nay, in lifting up the knife to stick it in the tree he accidentally touched his son's genital organs with it.[2] This incident, though it is not mentioned in the scholium on Theocritus as that scholium now appears in our editions,[3] is recorded in a scholium on Homer,[4] and it has all the

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[1] Commentary on Homer, *Od.* xi. 292, p. 1685.

[2] *ἐκτέμνοντί ποτε τῷ Φυλάκῳ ζῶα παρεστήκει παῖς ὢν Ἴφικλος, ὃν ἐκπλῆξαι θέλων ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ἀνατείνας ἣν κατεῖχε μάχαιραν, εἶτα εἰς τὸ πλησίον δένδρον ἐμπῆξαι θελήσας, ἐπήνεγκεν αὐτοῦ τοῖς μορίοις οὕτω σύμβαν.* If the last two words are not corrupt, they seem to mean "by accident."

[3] Schol. on Theocritus, iii. 43. In this scholium, as it now stands, Phylacus is said to have been engaged in cutting a tree (*ἐκτέμνοντί ποτε τῷ πατρὶ Φυλάκῳ δένδρον*) instead of gelding animals.

[4] Schol. on Homer, *Od.* xi. 290 *ἣν* [scil. *μάχαιραν*] *ἐπήνεγκε Φύλακος τῷ Ἰφίκλῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐκτέμνοντι τὰ τετράποδα.* Here *τῶν ἀγρῶν* seems to support the reading *τῶν ἀγρῶν*

appearance of being an original and vital part of the narrative. It was, in fact, the contact of the gelding knife with the boy's genitals which, on the principle of sympathetic magic, was supposed to have deprived him of his virility because it had just deprived the rams of their generative power. The incident is reported by Apollodorus, except that he does not mention the actual contact of the knife with the boy's genital organs. We can hardly doubt that the incident also formed part of the story as told by Pherecydes, though the scholiast on Homer, who professes to reproduce the narrative of Pherecydes, has passed it over in silence, perhaps out of delicacy. The mode of cure recommended by the vulture, which undoubtedly was recorded by Pherecydes, furnishes another good example of sympathetic or, in the strict sense, homœopathic magic. The lad recovered his virility by swallowing the rust of the knife which had deprived him of his generative powers, exactly as the wounded Telephus was healed by the rust of the spear which had wounded him.[1]

On one point of the story our authorities are not agreed. Were the cattle which Melampus went to steal in possession of Phylacus or of his son Iphiclus? In one passage[2] Homer plainly says that the cattle were in possession of Iphiclus, and that it was Iphiclus who released Melampus after a forcible detention of a year. This is the version of the story accepted, doubtless on Homer's authority, by Pausanias, by the scholiasts on Homer, Theocritus, and Apollonius Rhodius, and by Propertius.[3] But in another passage Homer affirms that Melampus was detained a prisoner in the house, not of Iphiclus, but of Phylacus.[4] This latter version is clearly the one accepted by Apollodorus, who speaks of the cows as in possession of Phylacus, and ascribes the release of Melampus to Phylacus and not to

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against the reading *τῶν αἰδοίων* in the parallel passage of Apollodorus (i. 9 12). See the Critical Note on that passage, vol. i. p. 88, note [5].

[1] See Apollodorus, *Epitome*, iii. 20

[2] Homer, *Od.* xi. 288 *sqq.*

[3] Pausanias, iv. 36. 3; Scholiasts on Homer *Od.* xi. 287 and 290; Scholiast on Theocritus, iii 43; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 118; Propertius, ii. 3. 51 *sqq.*

[4] Homer, *Od.* xv. 231 *sq.*

Iphiclus. Hence his text ought not to be altered, as it has been altered by some editors,[1] in order to bring it forcibly into accord with the passages of Homer and the other writers in which the ownership, or rather the possession, of the cows is assigned to Iphiclus instead of to his father Phylacus.

Apollodorus also differs from Eustathius and the Scholiast on Homer in describing as a sacred oak the tree into which Phylacus stuck the bloody knife with which he had been gelding the rams; whereas according to these other writers the tree was a wild pear-tree.[2] It is tempting to connect the sacred oak of which Apollodorus here speaks with the oak which a little before he had described as standing in front of the house of Melampus and as harbouring the brood of serpents to which Melampus owed his prophetic powers.[3] But the two trees can hardly have been the same, if Melampus lived at Pylus and Phylacus in Thessaly. No doubt oaks were common in ancient Greece as they still are in some parts of modern Greece, especially in the secluded highlands of Northern Arcadia. But why was the oak in which Phylacus stuck the knife a sacred tree? Thereby perhaps hangs a tale, which, like so many other stories of the olden time in Greece, is lost to us.

The calling of all the birds together for a consultation, their profession of ignorance, and the subsequent information given by the bird which was the last to arrive, are common incidents of folk-tales. Thus in a Rumanian story all the storks are assembled by the King of the Storks to say where the water of life and the water of death are to be found; but none of them can say, until at last a blind old stork comes forward from the rear and supplies the desired information.[4] So in a Hungarian story a twelve-headed dragon calls all his beasts together to tell him where Whiteland is; but none of them know. At last a lame wolf limps

[1] See Apollodorus, i. 9. 12, with the Critical Note, vol. i. p. 88, note [1].

[2] The Scholiast on Theocritus iii. 43 adopts an attitude of judicial impartiality by describing the tree simply as a tree.

[3] Apollodorus, i. 9. 11.

[4] M. Gaster, *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories* (London, 1915), pp. 263 *sq.* See below, pp. 356 *sq.*

forward and acts as a guide to Whiteland.[1] In another Hungarian story the Queen of Mice summons all the mice to tell her where a certain castle is situated; but none of them can tell her. However, soon afterwards an old bald mouse appears who knows all about it.[2] So in a modern Greek story an old woman calls all the birds together to learn where the Glass City is; but none of them know. At last she consults a lame bird, whom she had at first neglected to summon, and he knows where the Glass City is situated.[3] In another modern Greek story the eagle summons all the birds to tell him where the *Iliuen Vilinen* are to be found, but none of them can tell him. Then he remembers a lame hawk whom he had not summoned to the assembly; so he sends for the lame hawk, who, as usual, gives the desired information.[4]

In a German story the King of the Golden Castle has lost his way and comes to the Queen of Birds to ask if she can direct him to the Golden Castle. The Queen has never heard of it, and summons all her birds to inquire whether they know where the castle is; but not one of them can tell. At last, after all the rest of the birds had assembled, up comes a stork. The Queen chides him for being so late, but he answers that he had come from far, being perched on the Golden Castle when he heard the Queen's whistle summoning him home. So the stork takes the King on his back and flies with him to the Golden Castle.[5]

V.—The Clashing Rocks

(*Apollodorus* I. ix. 22)

In folk-tales the water of life is sometimes said to be found between two huge cliffs, which dash together and separate again, barely allowing the hero or his messenger

[1] G. Stier, *Ungarische Volksmärchen* (Pesth, n.d.), p. 9.

[2] G. Stier, *op. cit.* pp. 142 *sq.*

[3] J. G. von Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen* (Leipsic, 1864), i. 138.

[4] J. G. von Hahn, *op. cit.*, i. 184 *sq.*

[5] P. Zaunert, *Deutsche Märchen seit Grimm* (Jena, 1919), pp. 32–35. For more examples, see E. Cosquin, *Contes Populaires de Lorraine*, i. 48.

time to snatch the precious liquid before they close on each other once more. Thus in a Russian story "the hero is sent in search of 'a healing and vivifying water,' preserved between two lofty mountains which cleave closely together, except during 'two or three minutes' of each day. He follows his instructions, rides to a certain spot, and there awaits the hour at which the mountains fly apart. 'Suddenly a terrible hurricane arose, a mighty thunder smote, and the two mountains were torn asunder. Prince Ivan spurred his heroic steed, flew like a dart between the mountains, dipped two flasks in the waters, and nimbly turned back.' He himself escapes safe and sound, but the hind legs of his horse are caught between the closing cliffs and smashed to pieces. The magic waters, of course, soon remedy this temporary inconvenience."[1]

In a Rumanian story the hero Floria is ordered by a king to procure for him the water of life and the water of death. In this difficulty the hero applies to a stork who, grateful for a kindness that Floria had done him, was ready to assist him to the best of his power. Accordingly the stork, who happened to be the king of storks, returned to his palace, called all the storks together, and asked them whether they had seen or heard or been near the mountains that knock against one another, at the bottom of which are the fountains of the water of life and the water of death. None of the young storks could tell, but at last there came from the rear a stork, lame on one foot, blind in one eye, with a shrivelled body and half his feathers plucked out. This maimed bird said, "May it please your majesty, I have been there, and the proofs of it are my blinded eye and my crooked leg." Notwithstanding these painful experiences the gallant bird undertook once more to put his life to hazard and to fetch the water of life and death. After providing himself with fresh meat and two bottles, the stork flew straight to the place where the mountains were knocking against one another, thus preventing anyone from approaching the fountains of life and death. It was when the sun had risen as high as a lance that he espied in the distance those huge mountains which, when they knocked against

[1] W. R. S. Ralston, *Russian Folk-tales* (London, 1873), pp. 235 *sq.*

each other, shook the earth and made a noise that struck fear and terror into the hearts of those even who were far away. When the mountains had recoiled a little, the stork was about to swoop down between them and get the water, when suddenly a swallow flew to him from the heart of the mountain and warned him, on peril of his life, to wait till noon, when the mountains rested for half an hour. "As soon as thou seest," said the swallow, "that a short time has passed and they do not move, then rise up as high as possible into the air, and drop down straight to the bottom of the mountain. There, standing on the ledge of the stone between the two waters, dip thy bottles into the fountains and wait until they are filled. Then rise as thou hast got down, but beware lest thou touchest the walls of the mountain or even a pebble, or thou art lost." The stork did as the swallow had told him; he waited till noontide, and when he saw that the mountains had gone to sleep, he soared up into the air, then shooting down into the depth, he settled on the ledge of stone and filled his bottles. Having done so he rose with them again, but when he had almost reached the top of the mountains, he touched a pebble. Immediately the mountains closed on him with a snap, but all they caught of him was the tail, which remained fast wedged between the two peaks of the mountains. With a great wrench he tore himself away, leaving his tail behind, but glad to escape with his life and with the two bottles of precious water.[1]

Here the nipping off of the stork's tail resembles the nipping off of the dove's tail in the Argonaut story. In a modern Greek story a girl fetches the water of life from a spring in a mountain which opens for a short time every day at noon. In issuing from the cleft she barely escapes, for the mountain closes on her and catches the skirt of her dress. But she draws her sword, severs the skirt, and having thus freed herself, she carries away the water of life and by means of it restores to life her two brothers, who had been turned to stone by the glance of a certain bird.[2] In

[1] M. Gaster, *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories* (London, 1915), pp. 263-265.

[2] J. G. v. Hahn, *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* (Leipsic, 1864), ii. 46 *sq.*

another modern Greek story a young man is directed to the water of life by an old woman. She tells him that within a certain mountain, which opens every day at noon, there are many springs, and that he must draw only from the particular spring to which he should be guided by a bee, otherwise he would be lost.[1]

An Eskimo story, which relates the adventurous voyage of a certain hero named Giviok, describes how "he continued paddling until he came in sight of two icebergs, with a narrow passage between them; and he observed that the passage alternately opened and closed again. He tried to pass the icebergs by paddling round outside them, but they always kept ahead of him; and at length he ventured to go right between them. With great speed and alacrity he pushed on, and had just passed when the bergs closed together, and the stern point of his kayak got bruised between them."[2]

Tylor proposed to explain the passage of the Argo between the Clashing Rocks "as derived from a broken-down fancy of solar myth";[3] but the analogies on which he based the hypothesis seem dubious, and the episode, like the whole story of the voyage of the Argo, savours more of a simple folk-tale than of a solar myth. In spite of the resemblance of the incident in the Eskimo story it would be rash to suppose that the Greek tale of the Clashing Rocks was suggested by a sailor's reminiscence of an encounter with icebergs in some far northern sea. More probably it is a mere creation of a story-teller's fancy.

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[1] J. G. v. Hahn, *op. cit.*, ii. 280 *sq.* For other stories of the water of life enclosed between two clashing mountains or in a mountain that only opens for a short time, see J. G. v. Hahn, *op. cit.* i. 238, ii. 195, 284; A. Leskien und K. Brugmann, *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen* (Strasbourg, 1882), p. 551.

[2] H. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo* (Edinburgh and London, 1875), pp. 158 *sq.*

[3] (Sir) E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*[2] (London, 1873), i. 349.

VI.—The Renewal of Youth

(*Apollodorus* I. ix. 27)

Stories like that of Medea and Pelias have been recorded among European peasantry in Scandinavia, Germany, Russia, and Italy. They tell how Christ, or St. Peter, or the Devil, going about on earth in disguise, restored an old person to youth or a dead person to life by boiling him in a kettle or burning him in a smith's forge, and how a bungler (generally a smith) tried to perform the same feat but failed.[1] A similar story is told of a certain mythical king of Cambodia, named Pra Thong Rat Koma, who in his later years was afflicted with leprosy. "A learned Brahmin offered to cure him of his malady; but first it was necessary that he should be killed, and thrown into a cauldron of boiling medicine, from which he would emerge alive and clean. The King refused to believe in the Brahmin's power, but the Brahmin took a dog, which he killed and threw into the boiling cauldron, when it immediately jumped out and frisked about. Still the King doubted. Thereupon the Brahmin offered to slay himself, and he gave the King three drugs which were to be thrown successively into the cauldron. The first would give form to the dead body; the second, beauty; the third, life. Then the Brahmin flung himself into the boiling medicine, but the King, forgetful of his instructions, threw in all the drugs at once, and the Brahmin was changed to a stone statue."[2] The Shans of Lakon tell a similar story of one of

[1] (Sir) G. W. Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse* (Edinburgh, 1859), pp. 106 *sqq.*, "The Master-Smith"; Grimm, *Household Tales*, No. 81, "Brother Lustig," vol. i. pp. 312 *sqq.*, 440 *sq.* (English translation by M. Hunt); W. R. S. Ralston, *Russian Folk-tales* (London, 1873), pp. 57 *sqq.*, "The Smith and the Demon"; T. F. Crane, *Italian Popular Tales* (London, 1885), pp. 188 *sq.*, "The Lord, St. Peter and the Blacksmith."

[2] P. A. Thompson, *Lotus Land* (London, 1906), pp. 300 *sq.* The story is told, with some unimportant variations, by Adolf Bastian, who calls the king Krung Phala. See A. Bastian, *Die Volker d.s oestlichen Asien*, I (Leipsic, 1866), pp. 444 *sqq.*

their early kings, who lived in the time of Buddha. They say that Komma Rattsee, "a famous magician, demigod, and doctor, visited Lakon, and informed the princes and people that by his medicines and charms he could add beauty and restore youth and life to anyone, however he might have been dismembered and mangled. A decrepit old prince, who was verging on dotage, and longed for a renewal of his youth, begged the magician to experiment upon him. The doctor, after mincing him up, prepared a magic broth, and, throwing the fragments into it, placed it over the fire. After performing the necessary incantations, the prince, rejuvenated and a perfect beau, was handed out of the pot. He was so pleased with his new appearance, and the new spirit of youth and joy pervading him, that he entreated the magician to re-perform the operation, as he thought the first chopping up having been so successful, still greater benefits would accrue from its repetition. On the magician refusing, he clamorously persisted in his request. The demigod, annoyed at his persistence and his covetousness, accordingly minced him up and put him into the pot, where he remains to this day. The hill where the Phya, or prince, was dipped, is called Loi Phya Chch (the hill of the dipped Phya); and a hill near it is known as Loi Rattsee (Russi), after the magician."[1]

The Papuans of Geelvink Bay, on the northern coast of Dutch New Guinea, tell of an old man who used to earn his living by selling the intoxicating juice of the sago palm. But to his vexation he often found that the vessels, which he had set overnight to catch the dripping juice of the tapped palms, were drained dry in the morning. As the people in his village denied all knowledge of the theft, he resolved to watch, and was lucky enough to catch the thief in the very act, and who should the thief be but the Morning Star? To ransom herself from his clutches she bestowed on him a magical stick or wand, the possession of which ensured to its owner the fulfilment of every wish. In time the old man married a wife, but she was not pleased that her husband was so old and so covered with scabs. So one day he resolved to give her a joyful surprise by renewing

[1] Holt S. Hallett, *A Thousand Miles on an Elephant in the Shan States* (Edinburgh and London, 1890), pp. 269 sq.

his youth with the help of his magic wand. For this purpose he retired into the forest and kindled a great fire of iron-wood. When the flames blazed up he flung himself among the glowing embers, and immediately his shrivelled skin peeled off, and all the scabs were turned into copper trinkets, beautiful corals, and gold and silver bracelets. He himself came forth from the fire a handsome young man, decked himself with some of the ornaments and returned to his house. But there neither his wife nor her sister recognised him; and only his little son cried out, "There comes father!" However, when he explained to the women how he had been made young again, and convinced them of the truth of his story by conducting them to the place in the wood where the remains of the fire were still to be seen, with the rest of the trinkets lying about, their joy knew no bounds.[1]

We may conjecture that these stories reflect a real belief in the possibility of renewing youth and prolonging life by means of the genial influence of fire. The conjecture derives some support from a custom observed by the Wajagga of Mount Kilimandjaro in East Africa. Among them "the wizards boast of possessing the power to protect people against sickness and death. A peculiar custom may be quoted as an example. It is called *ndumo woika ndu nnini*: 'custom of boiling a nobleman.' When a great man desires to make himself a name, and also to prolong his life, he has this ceremony performed over him. He invites all his relations to come who desire to take part in it. The wizard arrives early in the morning, and first of all causes a trench to be dug large enough to allow a man to lie on one side of it with his legs drawn up; and his wife or a girl of the family lies down beside him. The wizard usually says to him, 'Step in with your favourite wife.' Only in case she refuses does he ask a girl to do him this service. When the man with his female companion has laid himself down in the

[1] J. B. van Hasselt, "Die Noeforezen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, viii. (1876), pp. 176-178; J. L. van Hasselt, "Die Papuastämme an der Geelvinkbai (Neuguinea)," *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Jena*, ix. Jena, 1891), pp. 103-105. The story is told more briefly by A. Goudswaard, *Die Papoewa's van de Geelvinkbaai* (Schiedam, 1863), pp. 84–87.

trench, poles are placed over it, and on the poles banana bark and earth. After the trench has thus been covered in, the man's three hearthstones are set over them at the heads (of the pair), a fire is kindled between them, a pot is placed on the fire, and food is boiled in it. This fire is kept up till evening, and the boiled food is eaten by those who take part in the ceremony, while the two who lie in the trench get none of it. Not till evening are they liberated from their confinement. In the heat they have been obliged to sweat profusely. The wizard now spits on them and says moreover, 'Long life! Even in war thou shalt not be slain, even a musket ball will not hit thee.'"[1] Here the process of boiling a pot on a man's own hearthstones over his own head, while he sweats at every pore below, is perhaps the nearest approach that can safely be made to boiling him in person, and the beneficial effect of it is supposed to be a prolongation of the "boiled nobleman's" life. But we have seen that the process of roasting, applied to babies, was believed by the ancient Greeks to be equally effectual in prolonging the lives of the infants, or rather in rendering them immortal, by stripping off their mortal flesh and leaving only the immortal element. Thus the Greeks apparently reposed a robust faith in the renovating virtue both of roasting and boiling, but they drew a delicate distinction between the two, for while they roasted babies, they boiled old people, at least theoretically, like the Wajagga of Mount Kilimandjaro. Nor are these the only modes in which the primitive natural philosopher has attempted to repair the decaying energies of human and animal life by a judicious application of what we may call thermodynamics: for this purpose he has often either leaped over fire or walked deliberately over glowing stones and has driven his flocks and herds through the smoke and the flames. These experiments in the art of prolonging life, by cauterising, so to say, the germs that threaten its continuation, have been described by me elsewhere.[3]

[1] Bruno Gutmann, *Dichten und Denken der Dschagganeger* (Leipsic, 1906), p. 162.

[2] Above, pp. 311 *sqq.*

[3] *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. ii. pp. 1 *sqq.*, "The Fire-walk." Compare *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. i. pp. 179 *sqq.*, "Purification by Fire."

VII.—The Resurrection of Glaucus

(*Apollodorus* III. iii. 1)

Other ancient writers relate, like Apollodorus, how the seer Polyidus restored the dead Glaucus to life by laying on him a magical herb which he had seen a serpent apply with similar effect to a dead serpent.[1] A similar story was told of the resurrection of a Lydian legendary hero named Tylon or Tylus. It is said that one day as he was walking on the banks of the Hermus a serpent stung and killed him. His distressed sister, Moire, had recourse to a giant called Damasen, who attacked and slew the serpent. But the serpent's mate culled a herb, "the flower of Zeus," in the woods, and bringing it in her mouth put it to the lips of the dead serpent, which immediately revived. In her turn Moire took the hint and restored her brother, Tylon or Tylus, to life by touching him with the same plant.[2] The story seems to have been associated with Sardes, since it is clearly alluded to on the coins of that city.[3]

The fisherman, Glaucus of Anthedon, whom the ancients distinguished from Glaucus, the son of Minos, is said to have learned in like manner the life-giving property of a certain herb or grass by observing that when a dead or dying fish or, according to another account, hare was brought into contact

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[1] Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 811 (perhaps following Apollodorus); Apostolius, *Cent.* v. 48; Palaephatus, *De incredib.* 27; Hyginus, *Fab.* 136; *id. Astronom.* ii. 14. The story is told allusively by Claudian, *De bello Getico*, 442–446.

> *Cretaque, si verax narratur fabula, vidit*
> *Minoum rupto puerum prodire sepulchro:*
> *Quem senior vates avium clangore repertum*
> *Gramine restituit: mirae nam munere sortis*
> *Dulcia mella necem, vitam dedit horridus anguis.*

[2] Nonnus, *Dionys.* xxv. 451–551; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxv. 14. The story, as we learn from Pliny, was told by Xanthus, an early historian of Lydia.

[3] B. V. Head, *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Lydia*, pp. cxi.–cxiii., with pl. xxvii. 12. As to Tylon and the "herb of Zeus," see further *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*[3], i. 186 *sq.*

with it, the creature at once revived and came to life again; having tasted the herb Glaucus became himself immortal and leaped into the sea, where he continued to dwell as a marine deity.[1]

The magical herb, which brings the dead to life again by simple contact, meets us elsewhere in folk tales. Thus a modern Greek story relates how a mother, going in search of her dead son, killed a serpent by the way; how another serpent brought the dead serpent to life by laying a herb on its body; and how the mother, taking the hint, restored her dead son to life by means of the same herb.[2] In another modern Greek story a husband and wife, going in search of their dead son, see two serpents fighting and one of them killing the other. The husband says to his wife, "Cover up the dead serpent with leaves, that no man may see it." The wife does so, and immediately the dead serpent comes to life again. Thereupon the husband says to his wife, "Fill your pocket full of that herb, for it is a good medicine." Afterwards by means of the herb they restore their dead son to life.[3] Another modern Greek story tells how three ogres, as they sat talking together at a spring, saw two serpents fighting. One of the serpents struck the other such a violent blow with its tail that it cut the body of the other clean through. But the two pieces wriggled to a herb that grew near, and wrapping themselves up in it were united into one body as before. When the youngest of the three ogres saw that, he said to his brothers, "That foreboades ill to us. Let us take some of this herb and go home, to see what is doing there." So they returned to the crystal tower in which they dwelt, and found it dark and deserted; and not far off they discovered the

[1] Nicander, in the first book of his *Aetolian History*, cited by Athenaeus, vii. 48, pp. 296f–297a; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 754; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1310; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 924 *sqq.*; Ausonius, *Mosella*, 276 *sqq.*; Servius on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 437. According to Nicander, it was a hare that was revived by the herb; according to the other writers it was the fish which Glaucus had just caught.

[2] J. G. von Hahn, *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* (Leipsic, 1864), ii. 204.

[3] J. G. von Hahn, *op. cit.* ii. 260.

headless body of the young prince who had married their sister. A little search revealed the missing head, and by applying it to the body and rubbing the herb on the severed neck, they soon joined the two together. The prince started up, saying, "Ah, brothers, how deep has been my sleep and how light my awakening!"[1]

Again, a German folk tale relates how a young man of humble birth married a princess on condition that, if she died before him, he should be buried alive with her. She did die before him, and accordingly her young husband was conducted down into the royal vault, there to stay with the body of his dead wife till he died. While he sat there watching by the corpse and gloomily expecting death, he saw a snake creep out of a corner of the vault and crawl towards the dead body. Thinking that the creature had come to gnaw the corpse, he drew his sword and hewed the snake in three pieces. After a time a second snake crawled out of the hole, and seeing the first snake cut in pieces, it went back again, but soon returned with three green leaves in its mouth. These leaves it laid on the three severed pieces of the dead snake, and immediately the pieces joined together, and the dead snake came to life. Thereupon the two snakes retired together, but the leaves remained lying on the ground. The young man picked them up, and by applying them to the mouth and eyes of his dead wife he resuscitated her. After that they knocked on the door of the vault and called out, till they attracted the notice of the sentinels and were released from confinement by the King in person. But the provident young man kept the three snake-leaves carefully, and it was lucky for him that he did so; for they afterwards served to restore himself to life, when he had been treacherously done to death by his ungrateful wife with the assistance of an unscrupulous skipper.[2]

Again, in a Lithuanian story a young man on his travels sees two snakes fighting with such fury that both of them were wounded and mangled, and the young man thought they would die on the spot. But after the fight the snakes crawled to a certain bush, and plucking leaves from it applied

[1] J. G. von Hahn, *op. cit.* ii. 274.

[2] Grimm, *Household Tales*, No. 16 (vol. i. pp. 70 *sq.*, Margaret Hunt's translation).

them to their wounded bodies, which were immediately made whole. Afterwards, when the young man had been foully murdered, he was brought to life again by some helpful animals, whose life he had spared, and which now repaid his kindness by fetching leaves from the snakes' bush and laying them on his body. No sooner had they done so than he revived and asked, "Why have you wakened me? I was sleeping so soundly."[1]

In a Wallachian story the hero, lying asleep, is beheaded by a gipsy, whereupon three friendly animals, a bear, a wolf, and a fox, consult how they may bring him to life again. After they have laid their heads together in vain, the fox meets a serpent which is carrying a herb in its mouth. The fox asks, "What sort of herb is that which you are carrying there?" The serpent answers, "It is a magic herb; I will restore my son's head, which has been cut off." "Let me see it nearer," says the fox. The simple serpent complies with the request, and the fox seizes the herb in his mouth and makes off with it. By means of the herb he attaches the hero's severed head to his body, and the application of a jugful of water of life, borrowed, or rather stolen, by the wolf from an old woman, soon completes the hero's resurrection.[2]

In a Russian story a mother is wandering in a wood with her dead baby at her breast. She sees an old serpent creep up to a dead serpent and restore it to life by rubbing it with a leaf. The mother snatches the leaf, and by touching her dead baby with it she resuscitates the infant.[3]

In some stories the secret of the life-giving plant is learned, not from a serpent, but from some other animal. Thus in an Irish tale a woman, whose husband has been killed in single combat, sees two birds fighting and one of them killing the other. Then birds come and put leaves of a tree on the dead bird, and in half an hour the dead bird comes to life. The widow puts the leaves on her dead husband, who had assumed

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[1] A. Schleicher, *Litauische Märchen, Sprichworte, Rätsel und Lieder* (Weimar, 1857), pp. 57–59.

[2] Arthur und Albert Schott, *Walachische Maehrchen* (Stuttgart and Tubingen, 1845), p. 142.

[3] G. Polivka, "Zu der Erzählung von der undankbaren Gattin," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, xiii. (1903), p. 408.

the form of a bird for the purpose of the single combat; and as usual the application of the magic plant effects the resurrection of the corpse.[1]

In a mediæval romance, a weasel having been killed by the blow of a stick, his mate brings a red flower and places it in the mouth of the dead weasel, which at once returns to life. The same flower thereafter, applied to a dead maiden, works on her the same miracle of resurrection.[2]

In a story told by the Baraba, a Turkish tribe of Southern Siberia, the hero has his legs cut off through the treachery of his two elder brothers. Sitting disconsolate propped up against the wall of the house, he sees the mice gather about his severed limbs and begin to nibble them. He seizes a mouse and breaks one of its legs, saying, "If I am lame, you shall be lame too." The other mice now gather about the lame mouse, and grubbing up a little white root out of the earth, give it to the lame mouse to eat. The mouse eats it, and after a time its broken leg is made whole, and the little creature runs away. The hero takes the hint, digs up the root with his nails, and eats it. After a time his two legs join on to his body again, and you could not detect so much as a scar at the joining.[3]

In a Polish story a girl kills her too importunate lover and is buried with him in a vault. There she sees two ravens fighting and one of them killed by the other; whereupon a third raven brings a herb in its bill, and by means of it brings the dead raven to life. As usual, the girl restores her dead lover to life by an application of the herb.[4]

In an Italian story a hero rescues a princess from a horrible seven-headed dragon, which was about to devour her. In the combat the hero began by cutting off one of the dragon's heads; but so soon as this happened, the dragon rubbed the headless neck on a herb that grew near, and at once the

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[1] W. Larminie, *West Irish Folk-tales and Romances* (London, 1893), pp. 82 *sq*.

[2] P. Sébillot, *Le Folk-lore de France*, iii. 529, referring to Marie de France, *Poésies*, ed. Roquefort, i. 475.

[3] W. Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der Türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens* iv. (St. Petersburg, 1872), pp. 77 *sq*

[4] G. Polivka, "Zu der Erzählung von der undankbaren Gattin," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, xiii. (1903), pp. 408 *sq*.

severed head was remitted to the body. Seeing this, the hero killed the dragon by slicing off all his seven heads at one stroke, and after that he picked a handful of the herb which had healed the dragon's dreadful wound. As usual, the magical herb thus acquired is afterwards turned to good account by the hero; for having the misfortune to decapitate his own brother, "like a pumpkin," in consequence of a painful misunderstanding, he soon mended matters by rubbing the bleeding neck with the miraculous herb, whereupon the head immediately rejoined its body, and the dead brother was restored to vigorous life.[1]

In a Kabyle story a man sees two large spiders (tarantulas) fighting; one of them kills the other and then restores it to life by pressing into its nose the sap of a herb; the man takes the herb and by means of it restores to life his dead brother, who had been devoured by an ogress.[2]

A Jewish story, in the *Midrash Wayyosha*, tells of a man who, travelling from Palestine to Babylon, saw two birds fighting with each other. In the fight one of the birds killed the other, but immediately brought it to life again by fetching a herb and laying it on the beak of the dead bird. As the herb dropped from the bird's beak, the man picked it up and took it with him, intending to raise the dead by its means. When he came to the staircase leading up to Tyre, he found a dead lion by the wayside, and experimented on the animal by laying the herb on its mouth. The experiment was perfectly successful. The dead lion came to life and devoured its benefactor. The story ends with the moral, Do not good to the wicked, lest evil befal thee. The same story is told at greater length in the *Alphabet of Ben-Sirah*.[3]

We may compare, also, an episode in a Socotran story which bears a close resemblance to the ancient Egyptian story of "The Two Brothers." One of two brothers finds

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[1] Giambattista Basile, *Der Pentamerone*, übertragen von Felix Liebrecht (Breslau, 1846), vol. i. pp. 99–109 (First Day, Seventh Story, "Der Kaufmann").

[2] J. Rivière, *Contes populaires de la Kabylie du Djurdjura* (Paris, 1882), pp. 193–197.

[3] *Sudarabische Expedition*, vol. iv. 1. *Die Mehri- und Soqotri-Sprache*, von D. H. Müller (Vienna, 1902), pp. 201–203.

his brother dead in the castle of the Daughter of the Sunrise. As he sits weeping with the corpse on his lap, he sees a raven take a dead raven and plunge with it into the water, from which both birds emerge alive. The brother took the hint, tied his dead brother on his back, and leaped with him into the water, which had the effect of restoring the dead man to life.[1] Here the life-giving agent is not a magical plant, but a magical water; but the mode of its discovery by observation of animals is similar.

A belief in the actual existence of a plant endowed with such magical virtue appears to survive in some parts of Germany to this day; at least it is said to have survived down to the middle of the nineteenth century. At Holzhausen, near Dillingen in Swabia, an informant reported as follows: "In our country there are many large snakes in the wood. If you hew a snake in three pieces with a shovel or a hoe, without smashing the head, and go away at once, the snake seeks a herb, lays it between the wounds, and is immediately whole again. I have often searched diligently after the healing herb, but have never been able to get it; for so long as you stand by the severed snake, it is never made whole, and after sundown never at all. But if you leave the spot, the snake quickly fetches the unknown herb and heals itself. I have often seen such snakes as have been cut in pieces and made whole again; for a scar remains right round the parts at the point where they cohered and healed."[2]

That serpents possess a knowledge of plants which confer immortality is a popular belief among the Armenians. They think that "the springs and flowers actually confer immortality, but not on men. The belief is that snakes, if they are not killed, live for ever. There are 'wells of immortality,' the springs of which are surrounded with various flowers and herbs. Old, sick, and wounded snakes are acquainted with such springs and herbs. They come to these springs, slough their skins, eat a leaf of a flower, then crawl to the spring, bathe in it, and drink three sips of the water. Then they

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[1] *Südarabische Expedition*, vol. iv. 1. *Die Mehri- und Soqotri-Sprache*, von D. H. Müller, p. 88.

[2] Fried. Panzer, *Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie* (Munich, 1848–1855), ii. 206, § 360.

crawl out, and are healed, and renew their youth. If anyone knows that spring and flower, drinks three handfuls of the water, and eats the flower, he will be himself immortal."[1]

VIII.—The Legend of Oedipus

(*Apollodorus* III. v. 7)

According to the legend, Oedipus committed a twofold crime in ignorance: he killed his father and married his mother. The same double tragedy meets us in a Finnish tale, which runs as follows:—

Two wizards arrived at the cottage of a peasant and were hospitably entertained by him. During the night a she goat dropped a kid, and the younger of the two wizards proposed to assist the mother goat in her travail, but the elder of the two would not hear of it, "Because," said he, "the kid is fated to be swallowed by a wolf. At the same time the peasant's wife was overtaken by the pangs of childbirth, and the younger of the two wizards would have gone to her help, but was dissuaded by the elder, who told him that the boy who was about to be born would kill his father and marry his mother. The peasant overheard this conversation and reported it to his wife, but they could not make up their minds to kill the child. One day, when they were making merry in the peasant's cottage, they put the kid to roast on a spit, and then laid the roasted meat near the window; but it fell out of the window and was devoured by a passing wolf. Seeing that one of the two predictions made by the wizards was thus fulfilled, the peasant and his wife were sore afraid and thought how they could get rid of their child. Not having the courage to kill him outright, they wounded him in the breast, tied him to a table, and threw him into the sea. The forsaken child drifted to an island, where he was picked up and carried to the abbot of a monastery. There he grew up and became a clever young man. But he wearied of the monastic life, and the abbot advised him to go out into the world and seek his fortune. So he went. One day he

[1] Manuk Abeghian, *Der armenische Volksglaube* (Leipsic, 1899), p. 59.

came to a peasant's cottage. The peasant was out, but his wife was at home, and the young man asked her for work. She told him, "Go and guard the fields against robbers." So he hid under the shadow of a rock, and seeing a man enter the field and gather grass, he struck and killed him. Then he returned to his mistress, who was uneasy because her husband did not come home to dinner. So they discovered that the supposed thief, whom the young man had killed, was no other than the husband of his mistress; but as the homicide had not been committed with any evil intent, the widow, after weeping and wailing, forgave the young man and kept him in her service; nay, in time she consoled herself by marrying him. However, one day she noticed the scar on her second husband's breast and began to have her suspicions. Inquiry elicited the fatal truth that her husband was also her son. What were they to do? The woman sent him to seek out wise men, who might teach him how to expiate his great sin. He went and found a monk with a book in his hand. To him the conscience-stricken husband put his question; but when the monk, on consulting his book, replied that no expiation was possible for guilt so atrocious, the sinner in a rage killed the holy man. The same thing happened to another monk who had the misfortune to receive the confession of the penitent. But a third monk proved more compliant, and answered very obligingly that there was no sin which could not be atoned for by repentance. Accordingly he advised the repentant sinner to dig a well in the rock till he struck water; and his mother was to stand beside him holding a black sheep in her arms, until the sheep should turn white. This attracted public attention, and passers-by used to stop and ask the pair what they were doing. One day a gentleman, after putting the usual question and receiving the usual answer, was asked by the penitent, "And who are you?" He answered, "I am he who makes straight what was crooked, and I summon you to the bar of justice." Seeing no hope of escaping from the arm of the law, the penitent took the bull by the horns and killed the gentleman. At the same moment the rock opened, the water gushed out, and the black sheep turned white. But his fourth homicide lying heavy on his soul, the murderer returned to the monk to learn how he could expiate his latest crime. But the holy man reassured him. "The gentleman whom you

killed," said he, "offended God more than you by his professions. Your penance has been shortened: no expiation is required." So the repentant sinner was able to pass the rest of his days in peace and quietness.[1]

The same story is told, with some variations of detail, in the Ukraine:

There was a man and his wife, and they had a son. One day they dreamed that when their son should be grown up, he would kill his father, marry his mother, and afterwards kill her also. They told each other their dream. "Well," said the father, "let us cut open his belly, put him into a barrel, and throw the barrel into the sea." They did so, and the barrel with the boy in it floated away on the sea. Some sailors found it, and hearing the squalling of a child in the barrel, they opened it, rescued the boy, sewed up his wound, and reared him. When he was grown to manhood, he bid the sailors good bye and went away to earn his bread. He came to the house of his father, but his father did not recognize him and took him into his service. The duty laid on the son by his father was to watch the garden; and if anyone entered it, he was to challenge the intruder thrice, and if he received no answer, he was to fire on him. After the young man had served some time, his master said, "Go to, let us see whether he obeys my orders." So he entered the garden. The young man challenged him thrice, and receiving no answer, he shot him dead, and on coming up to his victim he recognized his master. Then he went to his mistress in her chamber, married her, and lived with her. One Sunday morning, when he was changing his shirt, she saw the scar on his body and asked him what it was. "When I was small," answered he, "some sailors found me at sea with my belly cut open, and they sewed it up." "Then I am your mother!" she cried. He killed her on the spot and went away. He walked and walked till he came to a priest and asked him to inflict some penance on him by way of atonement for his sins. "What are your sins?" asked the priest. He told the priest, and the priest refused him

[1] L. Constans, *La légende d'Oedipe* (Paris, 1881), pp. 106-108. The story is told more briefly by Gustav Meyer, in his preface to E. Schreck's *Finnische Märchen* (Weimar, 1887), p. xxv., referring to Erman's *Archiv*, xvii. 14 *sqq.*

absolution. So he killed the priest and came to another priest, who, proving equally recalcitrant, was disposed of by the young man in the same summary fashion. The third priest to whom he applied was kind or prudent enough to explain to him how he might expiate his sins. "Take this staff of apple-tree wood," said the priest; "plant it on yonder mountain, and morning and evening go to it on your knees with your mouth full of water, and water the staff. When it shall have sprouted and the apples on it are ripe, then shake it; as soon as the apples shall have fallen, your sins will be forgiven you." After twenty-five years, the staff budded and the apples ripened. The sinner, no longer young, shook the tree, and all the apples fell but two. So he returned and reported to the priest. "Very good," said the priest, "I will throw you into a well." He was as good as his word, and when the sinner was at the bottom of the well, the priest shut down the iron trap door, locked it, covered it up with earth, and threw the keys into the sea. Thirty years passed, and one day, the priest's fishermen caught a jack, cut it open, and found the keys in its belly. They brought the keys to the priest. "Ah!" said the priest laconically, "my man is saved." They ran at once to the well, and on opening it they found the sinner dead, but with a taper burning above his body. Thus all his sins were forgiven and he was gathered to the saints in bliss.[1]

The same double crime of parricide and incest with a mother, both committed in ignorance, occurs in a very savage story which the Javanese of the Residency of Pekalongan tell to account for the origin of the Kalangs, an indigenous tribe of Java. In it a woman, who is a daughter of a sow, marries her son unwittingly, and the son kills a dog, who is really his father, though the man is ignorant of the relation in which he stands to the animal. In one version of the story the woman has twin sons by the dog, and afterwards unwittingly marries them both; finally she recognizes one of her sons by the scar of a wound which she had formerly inflicted on his

[1] Eugène Hins, "Légendes chrétiennes de l'Oukraine," *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, iv. (1889), pp. 147 *sq.*, from *Traditions et Contes populaires de la petite Russie*, by Michel Dragomanof.

head with a wooden spoon.[1] According to the Javanese, such incestuous unions are still not uncommon among the Kalangs: mother and son often live together as man and wife, and the Kalangs think that worldly prosperity and riches flow from these marriages.[2] However, it is to be observed that the story of the descent of the Kalangs from a dog and a pig is not told by the people themselves, but by the Javanese, who apparently look down with contempt on the Kalangs as an inferior race. Similar stories of descent from a dog and a pig are commonly told of alien races in the Indian Archipelago, and they are usually further embellished by accounts of incest practised by the ancestors of these races in days gone by. For example, the Achinese of Sumatra tell such a tale of the natives of the Nias, an island lying off the west coast of Sumatra; and the natives of Bantam tell a similar story of the Dutch.[3] Probably, therefore, many stories of incest told of alien peoples, whether in the past or in the present, are no more than expressions of racial hatred and contempt, and it would be unsafe to rely upon them as evidence of an actual practice of incest among the peoples in question.

In the Middle Ages the story of Oedipus was told, with variations, of Judas Iscarioth. It is thus related in *The Golden Legend*:—

There lived at Jerusalem a certain Ruben Simeon, of the race of David. His wife, Cyborea, dreamed that she gave birth to a son, who would be fatal to the family. On waking, she told her dream to her husband, who endeavoured to comfort her by saying that she had been deceived by the evil spirit. But perceiving that she was with child from that very night, she began to be very uneasy, and her husband with her. When the child was born, they shrank from killing him, but put him in a little ark and committed it to the sea. The waves washed up the ark on the shore of the island of Iscarioth. The queen of the island found it, and having no

[1] E. Ketjen, "De Kalangers," *Tidjdschrift voor Indische Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxiv. (1877), pp. 430–435.

[2] E. Ketjen, *op. cit.* p. 427.

[3] J. C. van Eerde, "De Kalangbegrafenis op Lombok," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal, Land en Volkenkunde*, xlv. (1902), pp. 30 *sq.*

child of her own, she adopted the little foundling. But soon afterwards she was with child and gave birth to a son. When the two boys were grown up, Judas Iscarioth behaved very ill to his supposed brother, and the queen, seeing that expostulations had no effect on him, upbraided him with being a foundling. In a rage, Judas murdered his brother and took ship for Jerusalem. There he found a congenial soul in the governor of Judea, Pontius Pilate, who appointed him to a high office in his court. One day the governor, looking down from his balcony on the garden of a neighbour, was seized with a great longing to eat some apples which he saw hanging there from the boughs. The obsequious Judas hastened to gratify his master's desire by procuring, not to say stealing, the apples. But the old man who owned the garden, and who chanced to be no other than Judas's father, resisted the attempt, and Judas knocked him on the head with a stone. As one good turn deserves another, the governor rewarded Judas by bestowing on him the property of the deceased, together with the hand of his widow, who was no other than Cyborea, the mother of Judas. Thus it came about that Judas, without knowing it, killed his father and married his mother. Still the widow, now again a wife, was not consoled, and one day Judas found her sighing heavily. When he questioned her as to the reason of her sadness, she replied, "Wretch that I am, I drowned my son, my husband is dead, and in my affliction Pilate gave me in marriage against my will." The answer set Judas thinking, and a few more questions elicited the melancholy truth. Struck with remorse and anxious to comfort his mother, Judas flung himself at the feet of Christ, confessed his sins, and became his disciple. But being entrusted with the bag, he allowed his old evil nature to get the better of him, with the tragical consequences with which we are all familiar.[1] This monkish legend may have been concocted by a mediæval writer who, having read the story of Oedipus, turned it to the purpose of edification by casting a still deeper shade of infamy on the character of the apostate and traitor.

It has been argued that traditions of incest, of which the Oedipus legend is only one instance out of many, are derived from a former custom of incestuous unions among mankind,

[1] L. Constans, *La légende d'Oedipe*, pp. 95–97.

such as some inquirers believe to have prevailed at an early period in the evolution of society. But this interpretation, like another which would explain the legend as a solar myth,[2] appears to be somewhat far-fetched and improbable.

IX.—Apollo and the Kine of Admetus

(*Apollodorus* III. x. 4)

Apollodorus tells us that when Apollo herded the cattle of Admetus, he caused all the cows to bear twins. So Callimachus says that the she-goats which Apollo tended for Admetus could not lack kids, and that the ewes could not be milkless, but that all must have had their lambs; and if any had borne but a single young one before, she would then bear twins.[3]

Perhaps, as himself a twin, Apollo may have been supposed to possess a special power of promoting the birth of twins in animals. A similar faculty may possibly have been ascribed to the patriarch and herdsman, Jacob, himself a twin, who

[1] L. J. B. Bérenger-Féraud, *Superstitions et Survivances*, iii. (Paris, 1896), pp. 467–514.

[2] This explanation of the story of Oedipus, put forward by the French scholar Michel Bréal, has been criticized and rightly rejected by Domenico Comparetti in his essay, *Edipo e la Mitologia Comparata* (Pisa, 1867). It was not to be expected that the parricidal and incestuous Oedipus should escape the solar net in which Sir George Cox caught so many much better men. According to him, Oedipus was the sun, his father Laius was the darkness of night, and his mother Jocasta was the violet-tinted sky; while his daughter Antigone may have been, as M. Bréal thought, "the light which sometimes flushes the eastern sky as the sun sinks to sleep in the west." Thus the old tragic story of crime and sorrow is wiped out, and an agreeable picture of sunrise and sunset is painted, in roseate hues, on the empty canvas. See Sir George W. Cox, *The Mythology of the Aryan Nations* (London, 1882), pp. 312 *sqq.*

[3] Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo*, 47–54.

is said to have resorted to peculiar devices for the multiplication of Laban's flocks, of which he was in charge.[1] We know that a fertilizing power was ascribed to the mound which covered the grave of the twins, Amphion and Zethus, near Thebes; for every year, at the time when the sun was in Taurus, the people of Tithorea in Phocis used to try to steal earth from the mound, believing that with the earth they would transfer the fertility of the Theban land to their own.[2]

Similarly some savages ascribe to twins and their parents a power of multiplying animals and plants, so as to ensure a good catch to the fisherman and a plentiful crop to the farmer.[3] Thus the Tsimshian Indians of British Columbia believe that all the wishes of twins are fulfilled. Therefore twins are feared, as they can harm the man whom they hate. They can call the salmon and olachen, hence they are called *Sewidun*, that is, "making plentiful."[4] Among the Nootkas of Vancouver Island "numerous regulations refer to the birth of twins. The parents of twins must build a small hut in the woods, far from the village. There they have to stay two years. The father must continue to clean himself by bathing in ponds for a whole year, and must keep his face painted red. While bathing he sings certain songs that are only used on this occasion. Both parents must keep away from the people. They must not eat, or even touch, fresh food, particularly

[1] Genesis, xxx. 37–43. [2] Pausanias, ix. 17. 4 *sq.*

[3] The customs and superstitions relating to twins are discussed with great learning and ingenuity by my friend Dr. Rendel Harris in his book *Boanerges* (Cambridge, 1913); see particularly pp. 73, 122, 123, 124, 143 *sq.* for the belief in the fertilizing powers of twins. The same writer has dealt more briefly with other aspects of the subject in two treatises, *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* (London, 1903), and *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* (Cambridge, 1906). On this curious department of folk-lore I have also collected some facts, on which I will draw in what follows.

[4] Franz Boas, in *Fifth Report of the Committee of the British Association on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 51 (separate reprint from the *Report of the British Association, Newcastle-upon-Tyne Meeting*, 1889); *id.* "Tsimshian Mythology," *Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1916), p. 545.

salmon. Wooden images and masks, representing birds and fish, are placed around the hut, and others, representing fish near the river, on the bank of which the hut stands. The object of these masks is to invite all birds and fish to come and see the twins and to be friendly to them. They are in constant danger of being carried away by spirits, and the masks and images—or rather the animals which they represent —will avert this danger. The twins are believed to be in some way related to salmon, although they are not considered identical with them, as is the case among the Kwakiutl. The father's song which he sings when cleaning himself is an invitation for the salmon to come, and is sung in their praise. On hearing this song, and seeing the images and masks, the salmon are believed to come in great numbers to see the twins. Therefore the birth of twins is believed to indicate a good salmon year. If the salmon should fail to come in large numbers it is considered proof that the children will soon die. Twins are forbidden to catch salmon, nor must [may] they eat or handle fresh salmon."[1]

In this custom the twins and their father rather attract than multiply the fish, but for the purpose of the fisherman the two things come to the same. The reason why the twins and their parents are forbidden to eat or even touch fresh salmon is probably a fear of thereby deterring the salmon from coming to see the twins; for the fish would hardly come if they knew that they were to be eaten. They visit the twins for the pleasure of seeing them, but in the innocence of their hearts they have no inkling of the fate that awaits them from the wily fisherman lurking in the background.

The Kwakiutl, another Indian tribe of British Columbia, "believe that twins are salmon that have assumed the form of men, and that they are able to bring salmon."[2] A story told by one branch of the tribe illustrates the belief in the

[1] Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report of the Committee of the British Association on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 39 (separate reprint from *Report of the British Association, Leeds Meeting*, 1890).

[2] Franz Boas and George Hunt, *Kwakiutl Texts*, II. (1902), p. 322 note (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History* [*New York*], vol. V.).

power of twins to attract or multiply salmon. They say that a certain old woman, who died some thirty years ago, was one of twins, and when she came to die she warned the people not to cry for her after she was gone. "If you cry," said she to her sorrowing relatives, "no more salmon will come here. Hang the box into which you will put my body on to a tree near the river after having painted it. When you pass by, ask me for salmon, and I shall send them."[1]

Another Kwakiutl story brings out the same belief still more clearly. Once upon a time, we are told, a certain chief called Chief of the Ancients wished to marry a twin woman in order that the various kinds of salmon might come to him for the sake of his wife. His aunt, the Star-Woman, advised him to go to the graves and search among them for a dead twin woman to be his wife. So he went to the graves and asked, "Is there a twin here?" But the graves answered, "There is none here." From grave to grave he went, but there was no twin in them, till at last one of the graves answered him, saying, "I am a twin." So the chief gathered the bones from the grave, and sprinkled them with the water of life, and the dead twin became a living woman. She was a very pretty woman, and Chief of the Ancients married her. But she warned him, saying, "Just take care, Chief of the Ancients! I am Salmon Maker. Don't do me any harm." Then Salmon-Maker made many salmon for her husband. When she put her finger in a kettle of water, a large spring-salmon would at once be there in the water, jumping about, and when she put two fingers into the kettle, there would be two large spring salmon jumping about in the water. When she walked into the river with the water only up to the instep of her foot, the salmon at once came jumping; and if she were to walk right into the river, it would dry up, so full would it be of salmon. Thus the salmon-traps of the people were full of salmon, and their houses were full of dried and roasted salmon. Then Chief of the Ancients grew proud and his heart was lifted up because he had much food to eat. When the backbone of the spring salmon caught in the hair of his head, he took it and threw it into the corner of the house. He said, "You come from the ghosts, and you catch

[1] Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report o the Committee*, etc. (see note [1], p. 378), p. 62.

me!" His wife, Salmon-Maker, hung her head and cried, but he laughed at her and spoke angrily to her. At last she could bear his unkindness no more. She arose. She spoke, weeping, to the dried salmon, saying, "Come, my tribe, let us go back." Thus she spoke to them. Then she started and led her tribe, the dried salmon, and they all went into the water. Chief of the Ancients tried to put his arm round his wife; but her body was like smoke, and his arms went through her. Then Chief of the Ancients and his younger brothers became poor again. They had nothing to eat.[1]

Among the Baganda of Central Africa twins were believed to be sent by Mukasa, the great god whose blessing on the crops and on the people was ensured at an annual festival. The twins were thought to be under the special protection of the god, and they bore his name, the boys being called Mukasa, and the girls Namukasa. After the birth of twins the parents, with the infants, used to make a round of visits to friends and relations. They were received with dances and rejoicing, for "the people whom they visited thought that, not only they themselves would be blessed and given children, but that their herds and crops also would be multiplied." A ceremony performed by the father and mother of the twins over a flower of the plantain indicated in the plainest.

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[1] Franz Boas and G. Hunt, *Kwakiutl Texts*, II. pp. 322–330 (*Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. III. [New York] 1902). Compare Franz Boas *Kwakiutl Tales* (New York and Leyden, 1910), pp. 491 *sq.* (*Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology*, vol. II.). Similar tales are told more briefly by the Thlakikoala and Awikyenoq Indians of the same region. See Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord Pacifischen Küste Amerikas* Berlin, 1895), pp. 174, 209 *sq.* The Awikyenoq Indians, whose territory is situated on the coast of British Columbia immediately to the north of the Kwakiutl, also believe that twins were salmon before they were born as human beings, and that they can turn into salmon again (F. Boas, *op. cit.* p. 209 note). For other versions of the story told by the Indians of this region, see Franz Boas, "Tsimshian Mythology," *Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1916), pp. 667 *sq.*

if the grossest, manner the belief of the Baganda that parents of twins possessed a power of magically fertilizing the plantains which form the staple food of the people.[1]

Among the Bateso, a tribe of the Uganda Protectorate, "the birth of twins is a welcome event. The midwife announces the fact to the father, who immediately orders the special drum-rhythm to be beaten to make the fact known, and women soon gather at the house uttering a peculiar shrill cry of pleasure. The mother remains secluded for three months, and during this time the father pays visits to members of his own and of his wife's clans, from whom he receives presents of food and animals for a special feast to be held when the period of seclusion is ended and the twins are presented to the members of the clans. Should no hospitality be offered to the father and no present be given at a place when he is making his round of visits, he refuses to enter the house and passes on elsewhere. This is regarded by its occupants as a loss, because the blessing of increase which rests upon the father of twins is not communicated to the inhospitable family."[2]

Among the Basoga, another tribe of the Uganda Protectorate, the birth of twins is ascribed to the intervention of the god, Gasani. When such a birth has taken place, a shrine is built near the house in which the twins live, and two fowls and a basket, containing a few beans, a little sesame, a little millet, and some earth from a cross road, are deposited in the shrine, after they have been solemnly offered to the god, Gasani. This shrine is the place to which barren women go to make offerings to the god, to ask his blessing, and to seek the gift of children.[3] Moreover, in the Central District of Busoga, the land of the Basoga, "when a woman has twins, the people to whose clan she belongs do not sow any seed until the twins have been brought to the field. A pot of cooked grain is set before the children with a cake of sesame

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[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, *The Baganda* (London, 1911), pp. 64–72. As to the annual festival in honour of Mukasa, see *id.* pp. 298 *sq.* At it the priest of the god gave the blessing to the people, their wives, children, cattle, and crops.

[2] Rev. J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 265.

[3] Rev. J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, p. 249.

and all the seed that is to be sown. The food is eaten by the people assembled and afterwards the field is sown in the presence of the twins; the plot is then said to be the field of the twins. The mother of twins must sow her seed before any person of her clan will sow theirs."[1]

These customs seem clearly to imply that twins and their mother are endowed with a special power of quickening the seed.

But though a belief in the fertilizing virtue of twins is found among peoples so far apart as the red men of North-western America and the black men of Central Africa, it would be rash to assume that such a belief is universal or even common; on the contrary, it appears to be rare and exceptional. Far more usually the birth of twins is viewed with horror and dismay as a portent which must be expiated by the death of the twins and sometimes by that of the mother also. To adduce the evidence at large would be out of place here; I will only cite a few instances in which a directly contrary influence is ascribed to twins or their mother. For example, in Unyoro, a district of the Uganda Protectorate, the explorer, Speke, was told by one of his men, who was a twin, that "in Ngura, one of the sister provinces to Unyanyembe, twins are ordered to be killed and thrown into water the moment they are born, lest droughts and famines or floods should oppress the land. Should anyone attempt to conceal twins, the whole family would be murdered by the chief. [2] Among the Nandi of British East Africa "the birth of twins is looked upon as an inauspicious event, and the mother is considered unclean for the rest of her life. She is given her own cow and may not touch the milk or blood of any other animal. She may enter nobody's house until she has sprinkled a calabash full of water on the ground, and she may never cross the threshold of a cattle kraal again."[3] Indeed, if a mother of twins goes near the cattle, the Nandi believe that the animals will die.[4]

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[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, *The Northern Bantu*, p. 235.

[2] J. H. Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, ch. xviii. p. 426 (*Everyman's Library*).

[3] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi* (Oxford, 1909), p. 68.

[4] C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda, an Ethnological Study* (London, 1902), p. 40.

Again, among the Bassari of Togo, in Western Africa, women who have given birth to twins are not allowed to go into the cornfields at the time of sowing and harvest, because it is believed that, if they did so, they might spoil the crop. Only after such a woman has again been brought to bed and given birth to a single child may she once more take part in field labour.[1] Among the natives of Nias, an island to the west of Sumatra, the birth of twins is regarded as a misfortune which portends failure of the crops, epidemics, sickness among the cattle, conflagrations, and other ills; it used, therefore, to be customary to expose one or both of the infants and leave them to perish; sometimes, it is said, the mother would strangle one of the twins with her own hand.[2] A German missionary reports a case in Nias of a woman who gave birth to twins twice in successive years; both sets of children were exposed by the father in a tree and left to die; but on the second occasion the spirits were supposed to demand another victim, so the father bought a slave, a poor young man, tied him up near the village beside a river, and killed him with his own hand.[3]

Thus contrary and equally baseless, though not equally mischievous, are the superstitions of savages touching the birth of twins.

X.—The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis

(*Apollodorus*, III. xiii. 5)

The story how Peleus won the sea-goddess for his wife has its parallel in a modern Cretan tale. It is said that a young man, who played the lyre beautifully, was carried off by the sea nymphs (Nereids) to their cave, where they listened with delight to his music. But he fell in love with one of them,

[1] H. Klose, *Togo unter deutscher Flagge* (Berlin, 1899), p. 510.

[2] J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan, *De Genceskunde der Menangkabau-Maleiers* (Amsterdam, 1910), p. 149; *id. Die Heilkunde der Niassers* (The Hague, 1913), p. 178. Compare E. Modigliani, *Un Viaggio a Nias* (Milan, 1890), p. 555.

[3] A. Fehr, *Der Niasser im Leben und Sterben* (Barmen, 1901), pp. 14 *sq.*

and not knowing how to win her for his wife, he asked the advice of an old woman who dwelt in his village. She advised him to seize his captive by the hair when the hour of cock-crow was near, and though she should turn into diverse shapes, he was not to be frightened or to let her go, but to hold fast till the cocks crew. He took the advice, and though the wild sea maiden turned into a dog, a serpent, a camel, and fire, he held her by the hair till the cocks crew and the other sea maidens vanished. Then she changed back into her own beautiful shape and followed him meekly to the village. There they lived as man and wife for a year, and she bore him a son, but she never spoke a word. Her strange silence weighed on him, and in his perplexity he again betook him to the old woman, and she gave him a piece of advice, which in an unhappy hour he followed. He heated the stove and taking up their child in his arms, he threatened to throw it into the fire if his wife would not speak to him. At that she started up, crying, "Leave my child alone, you dog!" and snatching the infant from him she vanished before his eyes. But as the other Nereids would not receive her back among them because she was a mother, she took up her abode at a spring not far from the sea nymphs' cave, and there you may see her twice or thrice a year with her baby in her arms.[1]

This modern Greek story serves to explain a feature in the ancient story which is known only through an incidental allusion of Sophocles. In his play *Troilus* the poet spoke of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis as voiceless or silent (ἀφθόγγους γαμους).[2] In the original form of the tale it is probable that the sea bride of Peleus remained strangely and obstinately silent until Peleus detected her in the act of placing their child on the fire to make him immortal.[3] At that sight the father cried out, no doubt reproaching his sea wife for murdering, as he supposed, their infant; and she, offended at the interruption and hurt at the unmerited reproach, spoke to him once for all, and then, vanishing before his eyes, returned to her old home in the sea. This conjecture is

[1] B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* (Leipsic, 1871), pp. 115–117.

[2] Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* iii 35 (60); *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 255 *sq.*

[3] See Apollodorus, iii. 13. 6, with the note.

partially confirmed by a fragment of Sophocles, in which the poet said that Thetis deserted Peleus because she was reproached by him.[1] The silence of the bride in the folk-tale is probably to be explained as a reminiscence of a custom of imposing silence on brides for some time after marriage. For example, among the Tedas of Tibesti, a region of the Central Sudan, a bride is shut up after marriage for seven days in a special compartment of her husband's house and does not utter a word.[2] Again, among the Wabende, of Lake Tanganyika, a wife does not speak to her husband for several days after marriage; she waits till he has made her a present.[3]

The story of Peleus and Thetis seems to belong to a familiar type of popular tale known as the Swan Maiden type. A number of swans are in the habit of divesting themselves of their plumage and appearing as beautiful maidens. In that temporary state they are seen by a young man, who falls in love with one of them, and by concealing the bird's skin, which she has stripped off, he prevents the Swan Maiden from resuming her wings and flying away. Thus placed at his mercy, she consents to marry him, and for some time they live together as husband and wife, and she bears him a child. But one day she finds by accident the bird-skin which her husband had hidden; a longing for her old life in the air comes over her; she puts on the feathery coat, and leaving husband and child behind, she flies away to return no more. The story recurs with many minor variations in many lands.

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[1] Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 816; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1068, p. 443, ed. Fr. Dübner; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 106 *sq.*

[2] P. Noel, "Ethnographie et Anthropologie des Tedas du Tibesti," *L'Anthropologie*, xxx. (1920), p. 121.

[3] Avon, "Vie sociale des Wabende au Tanganika," *Anthropos*, x.–xi. (1915–1916), p. 101. For more instances, see *Totemism and Exogamy*, i. 63, note[5], iv. 233 237. Compare Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth* (London, 1884), p. 74, "M. Dozon, who has collected the Bulgarian songs, says that this custom of prolonged silence on the part of the bride is very common in Bulgaria, though it is beginning to yield to a sense of the ludicrous."

Often the fairy wife is not a bird but a beast, who doffs her beast skin to be a human wife for a time, till in like manner she discovers the cast skin, and resuming with it her beast shape returns to her old life in the woods or the wilderness. Sometimes she is a fish or other marine creature, and then the resemblance to the story of Peleus and Thetis is particularly close, for she comes from the sea to be married as a human maid to her human lover, and after the last unhappy parting she returns as a fish to dwell with her finny kindred in the depths of the sea. To increase the resemblance with the tale of Peleus and Thetis, the cause of the parting is often some unkindness done to the wife or to her animal kinsfolk, or simply some cruel taunt reflecting on her relationship to the fish or the birds or the beasts.

For example, "in the Farö Islands the superstition is current that the seal casts off its skin every ninth night, assumes a human form, and dances and amuses itself like a human being until it resumes its skin, and again becomes a seal. It once happened that a man, passing during one of these transformations, and seeing the skin, took possession of it, when the seal, which was a female, not finding her skin to creep into, was obliged to continue in a human form, and being a comely person, the man made her his wife, had several children by her, and they lived happily together, until, after a lapse of several years, she chanced to find her hidden skin, which she could not refrain from creeping into, and so became a seal again."[1] A similar notion prevailed among the people of Shetland regarding mermaids, about whom it is said that "they dwell among the fishes, in the depth of the ocean, in habitations of pearl and coral; that they resemble human beings, but greatly excel them in beauty. When they wish to visit the upper world, they put on the *ham* or garb of some fish, but woe to those who lose their *ham*, for then are all hopes of return annihilated, and they must stay where they are. . . . It has also happened that earthly men have married mermaids, having taken possession of their *ham*, and thus got them into their power."[2]

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[1] B. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology* (London, 1851–1852), ii. 173.

[2] B. Thorpe, *l.c.*, referring to Hibbert's *Shetland*, quoted by Faye, pp. 60, 61.

Again, in the Pelew Islands, in the Pacific, they tell how a man used to hang bowls on palm-trees to collect the palm-wine which oozed from incisions in the trunks. Every night he examined the bowls, but every night he found that they had been emptied by somebody. So he set himself to watch, and one night he saw a fish come out of the sea, lay aside its tail, and then in human shape climb a palm-tree. The man snatched up the tail, and taking it home with him hung it up in the storeroom. Next morning when he went to the palm tree to collect the wine, he found a woman under the tree, who called out to him that she was naked and begged him to bring her an apron. They returned to his house together, and the unknown woman became his wife. She bore him a child, who grew up to be a very beautiful maiden. But one day, in her husband's absence, she received a visit from some chiefs. For their entertainment she needed the pestle with which to mash sweet potatoes, and searching for it in the storeroom she discovered her old tail. At sight of it a great longing for her old home came over her. She told her daughter to cleave to her father if she herself were long away, and that same evening she secretly took down the tail, ran to the beach, and plunged into the sea.[1]

The stories of "Beauty and the Beast" and "Cupid and Psyche" belong to the same type of tale, though in them it is the husband and not the wife who is the fairy spouse and is liable to vanish away from his mortal wife whenever she offends him by breaking some rule, the observance of which he had enjoined on her as a condition of their wedded bliss.[2]

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[1] J. Kubary, "Die Religion der Pelauer," in A. Bastian's *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde* (Berlin, 1888), i. 60 *sq.* The Kwakiutl story of Chief of the Ancients and his wife Salmon-Maker is another instance of this class of tales. See above, pp. 379 *sq.*

[2] As to these stories, see Theodor Benfey, *Pantschatantra* (Leipsic, 1859), i. 254 *sqq.*; A. Lang, *Custom and Myth* (London, 1884), pp. 64 *sqq.*; S. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages* (London, 1884), pp. 561 *sqq.*; W. A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, i. 182 *sqq.*; E. Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, ii. 215 *sqq.*; E. S. Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales* (London, 1891) pp. 255 *sqq.*; Miss M. R. Cox, *Introduction to Folk-lore*,

APPENDIX

The folk-lore element in the marriage of Peleus and Thetis was fully recognized and clearly brought out by W. Mannhardt in his admirable study of the Peleus saga. He was probably right in holding that the modern Cretan story[1] is not a reminiscence of the story of the marriage of Thetis, but an independent folk-tale, of which the Peleus and Thetis story was merely a localized version.[2]

XI.—Phaethon and the Chariot of the Sun

(*Apollodorus* III. xiv. 3)

Some Indian tribes of North-western America tell a story which bears a close resemblance to the story of Phaethon and the chariot of the Sun, his father. The tale of Phaethon is related most fully by Ovid. According to the poet, the sea nymph, Clymene, daughter of Tethys, bore a son, Phaethon, to the Sun. When the lad grew up, he one day boasted of his illustrious parentage to a companion, who

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New Edition (London, 1904), pp. 120 *sqq.*; *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii. 205 *sq.*, 565–571, iii. 60 64; *The Dying God*, pp. 124–131. To the stories of this type quoted or referred to in these passages add E. Stack and Sir Charles Lyall, *The Mikirs* (London, 1908), pp. 55 *sqq.*; A. Playfair, *The Garos* (London, 1909), pp. 123 *sqq.*; S. Endle, *The Kachâris* (London, 1911), pp. 119 *sqq.*; R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea* (Berlin, 1911), iii. 564 *sqq.*; N. Adriani en A. C. Kruijt, *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's van Midden-Celebes* (Batavia, 1912–1914), iii. 401; D. Macdonald, "Efate, New Hebrides," *Report of the Fourth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Hobart, Tasmania, in January*, 1892, p. 731; [D.] Macdonald, "The mythology of the Efatese," *Report of the Seventh Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Sydney*, 1898, pp. 765–767; Elsdon Best, "Maori Folk-lore," *Report of the Tenth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Dunedin*, 1904, pp. 450 *sq.*

[1] See above, pp. 383 *sq.*

[2] See his *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, pp. 60 *sqq.*

ridiculed the notion and told Phaethon that he was a fool to believe such a cock-and-bull story. In great distress Phaethon repaired to his mother and begged her to tell him truly whether his father was really the Sun or not. His mother reassured him on this point. Stretching her arms towards the Sun, she solemnly swore that the great luminary was indeed his father; but if he had any lingering doubts on the question, she advised him to apply to the Sun himself. "You can easily do so," she said. "The house of the Sun, from which he rises, is near our land. Go and question the Sun himself." So Phaethon journeyed to the house of the Sun and found the deity clad in purple and seated on a throne resplendent with emeralds in the midst of a gorgeous palace. At first the youth could not bear the fierce light that beat on him, so he halted afar off. But the god received him kindly, and freely acknowledged him as his truly begotten son. More than that, he promised by the Stygian marsh to grant him any boon he might ask. Thus encouraged, Phaethon requested to be allowed to drive the Sun's chariot for a single day. The Sun, foreseeing the fatal consequences of granting the request, endeavoured to dissuade his son from the hazardous enterprise, by pointing out its difficulties and dangers. But all in vain; the rash youth insisted, and bound by his oath the deity had no choice but to comply. Even as they talked, the rosy light of dawn flushed the eastern sky, the starry host fled away, with Lucifer bringing up the rear, and the horned moon grew pale. There was no time to delay. The Sun commanded the Hours to yoke the horses, and forth from their stalls clattered the fire-breathing steeds. As Phaethon prepared to mount the car, his Heavenly Sire invested him with his own beamy crown, and sighing, said: "Spare the whip, my boy, and use the reins; the horses need to be held in rather than urged to speed. Drive not too high, or you will kindle the celestial vault; drive not too low, or you will set the earth on fire. The middle is the safest course." But the father's warnings were wasted on his imprudent son. Once started on his mad career, Phaethon soon lost all control of the horses, which, not feeling the master's hand, quickly ran wild, dragging the chariot out of its course, now to the icy north, now to the torrid south, now high, now low, now crashing into the fixed stars and colliding with the constellations, now brushing the earth and setting

it all on flame. The forests blazed, the rivers boiled and steamed: the Ethiopians, who had been fair before, were scorched and blackened in the heat: the Nile in terror hid his head, dry was his channel, and his seven mouths were choked with dust; and southward an arid desert stretched far in the waste Sudan. Heaven and earth might have perished in one vast conflagration if the Omnipotent Father himself, the mighty Jove, had not hurled a thunderbolt from the zenith and struck dead the helpless charioteer. Down, down he crashed, his burning hair streaming behind him like the trail of light left by a falling star; so he dropped plump into the waters of the Eridanus, which laved his charred and smoking limbs. There the Naiads of the West buried his mangled remains, and over his grave they set a stone with an inscription recording his ambitious attempt and its disastrous issue.[1]

The corresponding story as told by the Bella Coola Indians of British Columbia runs as follows:

A young woman had been married against her will by a man of the name of Stump. But their connubial bliss was short, for Stump's hair was full of toads and he expected his wife to pick them out for him. This was more than she could bear, and she fled, pursued by the too faithful Stump. He gained on her, but she delayed his pursuit by throwing over her shoulder successively a bladder full of liquid, a comb, and a grindstone. The liquid turned into a lake, the comb into a thicket, and the grindstone into a great mountain, which carried her up to heaven. There she came to the house of the Sun, and peeping in through a chink she saw the Sun sitting inside in the likeness of a man. He said, "Come in"; but the doorway was blazing with fire and she hung back. The Sun told her to jump through the fire. She did so and entered the house safely. After her up came Stump, and endeavouring to pass the fiery doorway was consumed in the flames. The woman now lived in a corner of the house of the Sun, and after a while she gave birth to a boy, the son of the Sun. His name was Totqoaya. He was very ugly, and his face was covered with sores. In time his mother longed to return to her father on earth; so, instructed by the Sun, she took her boy on her back and walked down the eyelashes

[1] Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 750–ii. 328.

of the Sun, which are the sunbeams, till she came in the evening to her father's house. Her parents and friends were very glad to see her.

"The next morning the boy went out of the house, and began to play with the other children, who made fun of him. Then he told them that his father was the Sun; but they merely laughed at him, until he grew very angry. Then he told his mother that he intended to return to his father in heaven. He made a great many arrows and a bow, went outside, and began to shoot his arrows upward. The first one struck the sky. The second one struck the notch of the first one. And thus he continued until a chain of arrows was formed which reached the ground. Then he climbed up; and after reaching heaven, he went into the Sun's house. There he said, 'Father, I wish to take your place to-morrow.' The Sun consented, but said, 'Take care that you do not burn the people. I use only one torch in the morning, and increase the number of torches until noon. In the afternoon I extinguish the torches one by one.' On the following morning the boy took his father's torches and went along the path of the Sun; but very soon he lighted all the torches. It became very hot on the earth. The woods began to burn, and the rocks to crack, and many people died. But his mother waved her hands, and thus kept her own house cool. The people who had entered her house were safe. When the Sun saw what the boy was doing, he caught him and threw him down to the earth, and said, 'Henceforth you shall be the mink.'"[1]

The story is told, with variations of details, by the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia as follows:

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[1] Franz Boas, *The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians* [New York] (1898), pp. 100–103 (*Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. ii., *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*). For another version of the Bella Coolan story, see Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas* (Berlin, 1895), p. 246. In this other version the Sun says to his son Totqoaya, "I am old. Henceforth carry the sun in my place. But take care. Go straight on, bend not down, else will the earth burn." The catastrophe follows as before, and the American Phaethon is finally turned, as before, into a mink.

"The future mother of Born-to-be-the-Sun was weaving wool, facing the rear of the house. Then the sun was in the sky, and the sun was shining through the holes in the house; and the rays struck her back while she sat facing the rear of the house, on her bed. Thus she became pregnant. There was no husband of this woman. She gave birth, and Born-to-be-the-Sun (Mink) became a child. Therefore it had immediately the name Born-to-be-the Sun, because it was known that its mother became pregnant by the sun shining on her back.

"The Born-to-be-the Sun was fighting with his friend Bluebird. Then Bluebird made fun of Born-to-be-the-Sun because he had no father. Then Born-to-be-the Sun cried in the house to his mother, telling his mother that he was called an orphan because he had no father. Therefore his mother said to him that his father was the Sun.

"Immediately Born-to be the-Sun said he would go and visit his father. Then his mother made a request of the uncle of Born-to-be-the-Sun: 'Make arrows for this child, that he may go and see his father.' He made four arrows for him. Then Born to-be-the Sun shot one of the arrows upward. It is said it struck our sky. Then he shot another one upward. It struck the nock of the one that he had shot upward first; then again another one, and it hit the end of his arrow. His arrows came down sticking together. Then he shot the last one, and it hit the end of the one he had shot before. They came to the ground.

"Then the mother of Born-to be-the-Sun took the end of the arrows and shook them, and they became a rope. Then she cautioned her child, (saying,) 'Don't be foolish at the place where you are going.' Thus Born-to-be-the-Sun was told by his mother. Then Born-to-be the-Sun climbed the rope, going upward. He went to visit his father. He arrived, and went through to the upper side of the sky. Then Born-to-be the Sun sat on the ground next to his father's house. Then Born to be the Sun was seen by a boy. Then he was asked by the boy, 'Why are you sitting there?' 'I came to see my father.' Then the boy entered, and reported to the chief, 'This boy sitting on the ground near the house comes to see his father.' 'Ah, ah, ah! indeed! I obtained him by shining through. Go ask him if he will come in.'

"Then the boy went out and called Born-to-be-the-Sun. Born-to-be the Sun entered and sat down. Immediately he

was taken care of by his father. 'Thank you, child, that you will change feet with me. I have tried not to be tired from walking to and fro every day. Now you shall go, child.' Thus said the chief to his son.

"Then he was cautioned by his father. 'Don't walk fast where you are walking along. Don't look right down to those below us, else you will do mischief.' Then he dressed him up with his ear-ornaments. Then he put on his mask. Then he walked on the trail that was pointed out. He walked along. 'My dear master, don't sweep too much when you are walking along. Don't show yourself [through] entirely when you are peeping through.' Then he started in the morning. He passed noon. Then in the afternoon the sun was warm. Then he desired to peep through. He swept away his aunts (the clouds). Already this world began to burn. There was noise of the cracking of mountains, and the sea began to boil. The trees of the mountains caught fire. Therefore there are no good trees on the mountains, and therefore the rocks are cracked.

"That was the reason of the fury of Born-to-be-the-Sun's father. The chief pursued his child. He reached him when the sun was not low. Then the clothing of Born-to-be-the-Sun was taken away. 'Is that what I told you? You have come only once.' Born-to-be-the-Sun was just taken by the neck by his father, and was thrown through the hole. Born-to-be-the-Sun came down. A canoe was paddling along, and came right to Born-to-be-the-Sun. 'Is this our chief, Born-to-be-the-Sun, floating about?' Then he raised his head on the water when they touched him with the paddle. Born-to-be-the-Sun awoke and puffed. 'Indeed, I have been asleep on the water a long time.' He went ashore and went inland."[1]

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[1] Franz Boas *Kwakiutl Tales* (New York and Leyden, 1910), pp. 123, 125, 127 (*Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology*, vol. ii.). For a briefer Kwakiutl version of the story, see Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, p. 157. In this latter version there is no mention of the mother of the son of the Sun, but the narrator describes how the Sun's ear-rings and nose-plug were made of glittering haliotis shell, and how, when his son wore these borrowed ornaments, the light flashed from them so fiercely that it caused the rocks to split and the water to boil.

The story is told more briefly, but in similar form, by the Tlatlasikoala, the Awikyenoq, and the Heiltsuk Indians of British Columbia. In the first of these three versions the Sun, as in Ovid's narrative, warns his son to go neither too high nor too low, for otherwise it would be either too cold or too hot on earth.[1]

Whether the remarkable resemblances between the Greek and the Indian versions of the tale are to be explained as due to independent invention or to European influence, is a question which, so far as I know, there is no evidence to determine, and on which therefore it would be rash to pronounce an opinion. In the Indian versions the unlucky hero always appears, sooner or later, as a mink, an animal about which the Indians of this part of America tell many stories. I have spoken of the Greek version of the story because it is probable that Ovid drew the main outlines of his narrative from Greek originals, though doubtless many of the picturesque particulars with which he embellished it are due to the poet's own imagination. But the more we compare the *Metamorphoses* with the parallel stories in extant Greek literature, the more, I think, we shall be inclined to admire the poet's learning and the fidelity with which he followed his sources, always, however, embroidering their usually plain substance with the many-coloured threads of his exuberant fancy.

XII.—The Vow of Idomeneus

(*Apollodorus, Epitome*, vi. 10)

Apollodorus tells us that while Idomeneus, king of Crete, was away with his army at the siege of Troy, his wife Meda at home was debauched by a certain Leucus, who afterwards murdered her and her daughter, and, having seduced ten cities of Crete from their allegiance, made himself lord of the island and expelled the lawful king Idomeneus when, on his return from Troy, he endeavoured to reinstate himself in the kingdom. The same story is told, almost in the same words, by Tzetzes, who doubtless here, as in so many places, drew his information

[1] Franz Boas, *Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas*, pp. 173, 215 *sq.*, 234.

direct from Apollodorus.[1] The exile of Idomeneus is mentioned by Virgil, who says that the king, driven from his ancestral dominions, settled in the Sallentine land, a district of Calabria at the south-eastern extremity of Italy.[2] The poet says nothing about the cause of the king's exile; but his old commentator Servius explains it by a story which differs entirely from the account given by Apollodorus. The story is this. When Idomeneus, king of Crete, was returning home after the destruction of Troy, he was caught in a storm and vowed to sacrifice to Neptune whatever should first meet him; it chanced that the first to meet him was his own son, and Idomeneus sacrificed him or, according to others, only wished or attempted to do so; subsequently a pestilence broke out, and the people, apparently regarding it as a divine judgment on their king's cruelty, banished him the realm.[3] The same story is repeated almost in the same words by the First and Second Vatican Mythographers, who clearly here, as in many places, either copied Servius or borrowed from the same source which he followed.[4] But on one point the First Vatican Mythographer presents an interesting variation; for according to him it was not his son but his daughter whom the king first met and sacrificed, or attempted to sacrifice.

A similar story of a rash vow is told of a certain Maeander, son of Cercaphus and Anaxibia, who gave his name to the river Maeander. It is recorded of him that, being at war with the people of Pessinus in Phrygia, he vowed to the Mother of the Gods that, if he were victorious, he would sacrifice the first person who should congratulate him on his triumph. On his return the first who met and congratulated him was his son Archelaus, with his mother and sister. In fulfilment of his vow, Maeander sacrificed them at the altar, and thereafter, broken-hearted at what he had done, threw himself into the

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[1] Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 384–386, compare *Schol.* on *id.* 1093.

[2] Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 121 *sq.*, 400 *sq.*; compare *id.*, xi. 264 *sq.*

[3] Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 121 and on xi. 264. The two passages supplement each other on some points, and in the text I have combined them.

[4] *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 59, 145 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 195; Second Vatican Mythographer, 210).

river, which before had been called Anabaenon, but which henceforth was named Maeander after him. The story is told by the Pseudo-Plutarch, who cites as his authorities Timolaus, in the first book of his treatise on Phrygia, and Agathocles the Samian, in his work, *The Constitution of Pessinus.*[1]

In this last story, according to the only possible interpretation of the words,[2] Maeander clearly intended from the outset to offer a human sacrifice, though he had not anticipated that the victims would be his son, his daughter, and his wife. Similarly in the parallel Israelitish legend of Jephthah's vow it seems that Jephthah purposed to sacrifice a human victim, though he did not expect that the victim would be his daughter: "And Jephthah vowed a vow unto the Lord, and said, If thou wilt indeed deliver the children of Ammon into mine hand, then it shall be, that whosoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, he shall be the Lord's, and I will offer him up for a burnt offering."[3] For so the passage runs in the Hebrew original,[4] in the Septuagint,[5] and in the Vulgate[6] and so it has been understood by the best modern commentators.[7] In the sequel Jephthah did to his daughter

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[1] Pseudo-Plutarch, *De fluviis*, ix. 1.

[2] *ηὔξατο τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν, ἐὰν ἐγκρατὴς γένηται τῆς νίκης, θύσειν τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῷ συγχαρέντα [ἐπὶ] ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις τρόπαια φέροντι.*

[3] Judges, xi. 30 *sq.*

[4] Judges, xi. 31, וְהָיָה הַיּוֹצֵא אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא מִדַּלְתֵי בֵיתִי לִקְרָאתִי . . . . וְהַעֲלִיתִהוּ עֹלָה.

[5] *καὶ ἔσται ὁ ἐκπορευόμενος ὃς ἂν ἐξέλθῃ ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας τοῦ οἴκου μου εἰς συνάντησίν μου . . . ἀνοίσω αὐτὸν ὁλοκαύτωμα.*

[6] *Quicumque primus fuerit egressus de foribus domus meae, mihique occurrerit . . . eum holocaustum offeram Domino.*

[7] J. S. Black (*The Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools*, 1892), G. W. Thatcher (*The Century Bible*, n.d.), G. F. Moore (*The International Commentary*, Second Edition, 1903), G. A. Cooke (*The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*, 1913), C. F. Burney 1918). Professor G. F. Moore observes, "That a human victim is intended is, in fact, as plain as words can make it; the language is inapplicable to

according to his vow,[1] in other words he consummated the sacrifice. "Early Arabian religion before Mohammed furnishes a parallel: 'Al-Mundhir [king of al-Hirah] had made a vow that on a certain day in each year he would sacrifice the first person he saw; 'Abid came in sight on the unlucky day, and was accordingly killed, and the altar smeared with his blood.'"[2]

Similar vows meet us in folk-tales. Thus in a German story from Hesse we read how a man, setting out on a long journey, promised his three daughters to bring back a present for each, whatever they should desire. The youngest of them, his favourite child, asked him to bring back a singing, soaring lark. On his way through a forest, he saw a singing, soaring lark perched on the top of a tree, and he called to his servant to climb up and catch the bird. But as he approached the tree, a lion leaped from under it, saying that he would devour whoever tried to steal his singing, soaring lark. The man prayed the lion to spare his life and to take a large sum of money instead. But the animal replied, "Nothing can save thee, unless thou wilt promise to give me for my own what first meets thee on thy return home; but if thou wilt do that, I will grant thee thy life, and thou shalt have the bird for thy daughter, into the bargain." The man accepted the offer, and on his return home the first who met him was his youngest and dearest daughter, who came running up, kissed and embraced him, and when she saw that he had brought with him a singing, soaring lark, she was beside herself with joy. But her father wept and said, "My dearest child, I have bought the little bird dear. In return for it I have been obliged to promise thee to a savage lion, and when he has thee, he will tear thee in pieces and devour thee." But the brave damsel, like Jephthah's daughter, consoled her sorrowful father, saying that he must keep his word, and that she would go to the lion and try to mollify him. The story ends happily, for the lion turned out to be no real lion but an

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an animal, and a vow to offer the first sheep or goat that he comes across—not to mention the possibility of an unclean animal—is trivial to absurdity."

[1] Judges, xi. 39.

[2] G. A. Cooke, on Judges, xi. 31, quoting Lyall, *Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. xxviii.

enchanted prince, who married the girl, and after a series of adventures the two lived happily together.[1]

A similar tale is reported from Lorraine. Its substance is as follows: Once upon a time there was a man who had three daughters. One day he told them that he was setting out on a journey and promised to bring each of them back a present, whatever they pleased. The youngest, whom he loved the best, said she would like to have the talking rose. So one day on his travels the man came to a fine castle from which issued a sound of voices speaking and singing. On entering the castle he found himself in a courtyard, in the middle of which was a rose-bush covered with roses. It was the roses which he had heard speaking and singing. "At last," thought he, "I have found the talking rose." He was just about to pluck one of the roses, when a white wolf ran at him, crying, "Who gave you leave to enter my castle and to pluck my roses? You shall be punished with death. All who intrude here must die." The poor man offered to give back the talking rose, if only the white wolf would let him go. At first the wolf would not consent, but, on hearing that the man's daughter had begged for the talking rose, he said, "Look here. I will pardon you, and more than that I will let you keep the rose, but on one condition: it is that you will bring me the first person you meet on returning home." The poor man promised and went away back to his own country. The first person he saw on entering his house was his youngest daughter. "Ah, my daughter," said he, "what a sad journey!" "Have you not found the talking rose?" quoth she. "I found it," quoth he, "to my sorrow. In the castle of the white wolf I found it, and I must die." When he explained to her that the white wolf had granted him his life on condition of his bringing the first person he should meet on entering his house, she bravely declared herself ready to go with him. So together they came to the castle. There the white wolf received them very civilly and assured them that he would do them no harm. "This castle," said he, "belongs to the fairies; we who dwell in it are all fairies; I myself am condemned to be a white wolf by day. If you keep the secret, it will go well with you." That night the white wolf appeared to the maiden in her

[1] Grimm's *Household Tales*, No. 88 (vol. ii. pp. 5–10 of Margaret Hunt's translation).

chamber in the form of a handsome gentleman and promised that, if only she followed his directions, he would marry her and make her his queen, and she should be mistress of the castle. All went well till one day the girl received a visit from one of her sisters, and, yielding to her importunity, revealed the wondrous secret. A frightful howl at once rang through the castle; the maiden started up affrighted, but hardly had she passed the doorway when the white wolf fell dead at her feet. She now rued her fatal compliance, but it was too late, and she was wretched for the rest of her life.[1]

So in a Lithuanian story we read of a king who had three fair daughters, but the youngest was the fairest of them all. Once on a time the king wished to go on business to Wilna, there to engage a maid who would look after his royal household, sweep the rooms, and feed the pigs. But his youngest daughter told him that she needed no maid-servant, for she would herself discharge these domestic duties, if only he brought her back from Wilna a mat woven of living flowers. So the king went to Wilna and bought presents for his two elder daughters, but though he searched the whole town and went into every shop, he could not find a mat woven of living flowers. His way home led him through a forest, and there in the wood, a few miles from his castle, what should he see but a white wolf sitting by the side of the path with a hood of living flowers on his head. The king said to the coachman, "Get down from the box, and fetch me that hood." But the white wolf opened his mouth and said, "My lord and king, you may not get the flowery hood for nothing." The king asked him, "What would you have? I will gladly load you with treasures in return for the hood." But the wolf answered, "I want not your treasures. Promise to give me whatever you shall first meet. In three days I will come to your castle to fetch it." The king thought to himself, "It is still a long way to home. I am quite sure to meet some wild beast or bird. I'll promise it." And so he did. Then he drove away with the flowery hood in the carriage, and on the whole way home he met just nothing at all. But no sooner had he entered the courtyard of his castle than his youngest daughter came forth to meet him. The king and likewise the queen wept bitter tears. Their daughter asked, "Father and

[1] E. Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine* (Paris, n.d.), ii. 215–217.

mother, why do you weep so?" Her father answered, "Alas, I have promised you to a white wolf; in three days he will come to the castle, and you must go with him." Sure enough the white wolf came on the third day and carried off the princess to his castle; for he was really a prince who was a wolf by day, but put off the wolf skin by night and appeared in his true form as a handsome young man. After a series of adventures, in the course of which the wolf-skin is burnt by the mother of the princess and the prince in consequence disappears for a time, the rediscovered and now transformed prince marries the princess in his fine castle.[1]

In a Tyrolese story of the same type, a merchant, setting out on his travels, asks his three daughters what he shall bring them back from the city. The youngest asks him to bring her a leaf that dances, sings, and plays. In the city, as usual, he buys the presents for his elder daughters but cannot find the leaf on which his youngest daughter had set her heart. However, on his way home he comes to a palace with a beautiful garden; and in the middle of the garden is a tree on which all the leaves are dancing and singing and playing delightfully. Thinking that one of these leaves is just the thing his daughter wants, he plucks one; but no sooner has he done so than a great serpent appears and says: "Since you have taken a leaf, I demand of you that you send me within three days the first person whom you shall meet at home. Woe to you if you do not!" With a foreboding of evil he goes home, and the first person that meets him there is his youngest daughter. "Father," she asks, "have you brought the leaf?" "I have," he answers sadly, "but it will cost you dear." He then tells her on what condition he had received the leaf from the serpent. But his daughter goes cheerfully to the serpent, who, as usual, turns out to be an enchanted nobleman. Dancing with him at the wedding of her sisters, the young lady inadvertently treads on his tail and crushes it; this suffices to break the spell: he turns into a handsome young man in her arms: the two are married, and he introduces his bride to his noble and overjoyed parents.[2]

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[1] A. Leskien und K. Brugman, *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen* (Strasbourg, 1882), No. 23, pp. 438–443.

[2] Chr. Schneller *Märchen und Sagen aus Wälschtirol* (Innsbruck, 1867), No. 25, pp. 63–65.

XII.—THE VOW OF IDOMENEUS

A Hanoverian story relates how once upon a time a king had three daughters, but the youngest was the apple of his eye. Setting out one day to make some purchases at the yearly fair, he asked his daughters what presents he should bring them back. The youngest asked for a tinkling lion-leaf.[1] At the fair the king easily bought the presents for his elder daughters, but do what he would, he could not find the tinkling lion-leaf. Riding dejectedly home, he had to traverse a wide, wide wood, and in the wood he came to a great birch-tree, and under the birch-tree lay a great black poodle dog. Seeing the king so sad, the poodle asked him what ailed him, and on learning the cause of his sadness the dog said, "I can help you. The tinkling lion-leaf grows on this very tree, and you shall have it if in a year and a day from now you will give me what to-day shall first come out of your house to meet you." The king thought to himself, "What should that be but my dog?" So he gave his word. Then the poodle wagged his tail, climbed up the birch-tree, broke the leaf off with his paw, and gave it to the king, who took it and rode merrily home. But when he came near the house, his youngest daughter sprang joyfully out to meet him. Struck with horror he pushed her from him. She wept and thought, "What can be the matter that my father thus repels me?" And she went and complained to her mother. The queen asked her husband why he had so treated his youngest daughter; but he would not tell her, and for a whole year he continued in the dumps and pined away. At last, when the year was all but up, he let the cat out of the bag. At first the queen was thunderstruck, but soon she pulled herself together, and concerted with her husband a device to cheat the black poodle by palming off the goose-girl instead of their daughter on him when he came to fetch away the princess. The deception succeeded at first, but when the poodle had carried off the goose-girl to the wood, he detected the fraud and brought her back. A second time a false princess was fobbed off on him, and a second time detected. At last the parents had, amid the loud lamentation of the courtiers, to give up their real daughter to the black poodle, who led her away and lodged her, all alone, in a little cottage in the depth of a great forest. There

[1] *Ein klinkesklankes Lowesblatt.* I am not sure of the meaning.

she learned from an old hag that the poodle was an enchanted prince, the cottage an enchanted castle, the wood an enchanted city, and the wild beasts enchanted men, and that every day at midnight the black poodle stripped off his shaggy hide and became an ordinary man. Following the directions of the hag, the princess waited till the third night, and when the enchanted prince had laid aside the black dog-skin and was fast asleep, she got hold of the skin and threw it on the fire. That broke the spell. The prince now appeared before her eyes in his true, his handsome form; the cottage turned into a palace, the wood into a city, and the wild beasts into men and women. The prince and princess were married, and at the wedding feast the bride showed great honour to the old hag, who thereupon blessed her and, vanishing away, was never seen or heard of again.[1]

Two stories of the same general type have been recorded in Schleswig-Holstein. In one of them a king has three daughters, and when he is about to set out on a journey he asks them what presents he should bring them back. The eldest daughter wished for a golden spinning-wheel, the second for a golden reel, and the youngest for a golden jingle-jangle.[2] When the king had procured the golden spinning-wheel and the golden reel, and was about to set out for home, he was very sad, for he did not know how to get a golden jingle-jangle. While he sat and wept, an old man came up to him and inquired the cause of his sorrow. On hearing it he said, "The golden jingle-jangles are on a great tall tree in the forest, and a big bear watches over them; but if you promise the bear something, he will give you one." So the king went and found the big bear under the big tree, and begged him to let him have a golden jingle-jangle. The bear answered, "You shall have a golden jingle-jangle if you will give me whatever first meets me in your castle." The king consented, and the bear promised to come next morning to the castle and bring the golden jingle-jangle. But when the bear appeared in the castle next morning, who should first meet him but the king's youngest daughter? The bear would have carried her off at once, but the king was sore troubled and said to the bear, "Go away;

[1] Carl und Theodor Colshorn, *Märchen und Sagen* (Hanover, 1854), No. 20, pp. 64–69.

[2] "*Einen goldenen Klingelklangel.*"

she will soon follow you." But instead of his own daughter the king dressed up the shepherd's daughter and sent her to the bear, who detected the fraud and returned her to the king. The same thing happened to the swineherd's daughter, whom the king next attempted to palm off on the bear instead of the princess. Last of all the king was forced to send his youngest daughter, and with her the bear was content. Afterwards the bear brought her back on a visit to her father's castle and danced with her there. In the dance she trod heavily on one of his paws, and immediately he was changed into a rich and handsome prince and took her to wife.[1]

Another story, recorded in Schleswig-Holstein, relates how a king lost his way and wandered in a great forest, till a little black man appeared and offered to guide him home if the king would promise to give him whatever should first come out of the king's house to meet him. The king accepted the offer, and on his return to the castle the first to run out to meet him was his daughter. He told her with tears of his promise; but she answered, "Since I have been the means of saving your life, I will willingly go away thither." Accordingly she is fetched away by a white wolf, who, as usual, turns out to be an enchanted prince, and marries her as soon as the spell which bound him is broken.[2]

In a German story of the same type a nobleman loses his way in a wood and meets a poodle who promises to guide him home if the nobleman will give the poodle whatever on his return should first come forth from the nobleman's house to meet him. As usual, the nobleman's daughter is the first to come forth to meet him; and, as usual, the seeming calamity ends in the girl's marriage with a prince.[3]

Similarly in a Swedish story we hear of a king who had three daughters, but he loved the youngest best of all. One day he lost his way in the forest, and, whichever way he turned, he always met a man in a grey cloak, who said to him, "If you would make your way out of the forest, you must give me the

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[1] K. Müllenhoff, *Sagen Märchen und Lieder der Herzogthümer Schleswig-Holstein und Lauenburg* (Kiel, 1845), pp. 384 *sq.*

[2] K. Müllenhoff, *op. cit.* pp. 385–388.

[3] P. Zaunert, *Deutsche Märchen seit Grimm* (Jena, 1919), pp. 303 *sqq.*

first living thing that meets you at your home-coming." The king thought to himself, "That will be my greyhound as usual"; so he promised. But it was his youngest and dearest daughter who met him first. The king sent his two elder daughters, one after the other, into the forest; but the man in the grey cloak sent them both back with rich presents. At last the king sent his youngest daughter, and after various adventures she was happily wedded to the man in the grey cloak, who, as usual, turned out to be an enchanted prince or nobleman, the owner of a fine castle.[1]

Thus in most of the folk-tales the rash vow turns out fortunately for the victim, who, instead of being sacrificed or killed, obtains a princely husband and wedded bliss. Yet we may suspect that these happy conclusions were simply devised by the story-teller for the sake of pleasing his hearers, and that in real life the custom, of which the stories preserve a reminiscence, often ended in the sacrifice of the victim at the altar. Of such a custom a record seems to survive in the legends of Idomeneus, Maeander, al-Mundhir, and Jephthah.

XIII.—Ulysses and Polyphemus

(*Apollodorus, Epitome*, vii. 4–9)

Stories like that of Ulysses and Polyphemus have been recorded in modern times among many widely separated peoples. So close is the resemblance between the various versions of the tale that they must all apparently be derived from a common original, whether that original was the narrative in the *Odyssey*, or, more probably, a still older folk-tale which Homer incorporated in his epic. Some of these parallel versions were collected by Wilhelm Grimm about

[1] J. Bolte und G. Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, i. (Leipsic, 1913), pp. 16 *sq*. As to stories of this type, see further E. Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, ii. 218 *sqq.*; W. Baumgartner, "Jephtas Gelübde," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xviii. (1915), pp. 240–249.

the middle of the nineteenth century,[1] but many others have since come to light.[2]

(1) The oldest of the modern versions of the Polyphemus story occurs in a mediaeval collection of tales which was written in or soon after 1184 A.D. by a monk, John, of the Cistercian Abbey of Haute-Seille (Alta Silva) in Lorraine. The book, dedicated to Bertrand, Bishop of Metz, is composed in very fair Latin and bears the title of *Dolopathos sive de Rege et Septem Sapientibus*. It was lost for centuries, but in 1864 a manuscript copy of the work was discovered by A. Mussafia in the Royal Library at Vienna. Subsequent research brought to light several other manuscripts at Vienna, Innsbruck, and Luxemburg, and in 1873 a complete edition of the book was published by H. Oesterley at Strasbourg.[3] Meantime the work had long been known to scholars

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[1] Wilhelm Grimm, *Die Sage von Polyphem* (Berlin, 1857) (reprinted from the *Abhandlungen der königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1857). The versions recorded by Grimm are summarized by W. W. Merry in his edition of Homer, *The Odyssey, Books I–XII* (Oxford, 1876), pp. 546–550.

[2] See A. van Gennep, "La Légende de Polyphème," *Religions, Moeurs, et Légendes* (Paris, 1908), pp. 155–164. In this essay the learned author reviews a work by O. Hackman, *Die Polyphemsage in der Volksüberlieferung* (Helsingfors, 1904), which I have not seen. From M. van Gennep's notice of it, I gather that Mr. Hackman has collected, analysed, and classified no less than two hundred and twenty-one popular variations of the tale. Very many versions are referred to by Messrs. J. Bolte and G. Polívka in their erudite *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* iii. (Leipzig, 1918), pp. 374–378. Thus the versions quoted by me in the following pages form apparently only a small part of those which are on record. But they may suffice to illustrate the wide diffusion of the tale and the general similarity of the versions.

[3] Joannes de Alta Silva, *Dolopathos sive de Rege et Septem Sapientibus*, herausgegeben von Hermann Oesterley (Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner, 1873). A more recent edition is that of A. Hilka (Heidelberg, 1913). Of the manuscripts the one now in the Athenæum at Luxemburg is the oldest and most complete; it was written in the thirteenth century and

through a metrical French translation which was written somewhere between the years 1222 and 1226 A.D. by a certain trouvère named Herbers. Considerable extracts from the poem, amounting to about a third of the whole, were published, with a prose analysis, by Le Roux de Lincy in 1838;[1] but the complete poem was first edited, from two manuscripts in the Imperial (now the National) Library in Paris, by Charles Brunet and Anatole de Montaiglon in 1856.[2]

This mediaeval collection of stories, called *Dolopathos*, whether in its original Latin form or in the metrical French translation, is clearly based, directly or indirectly, on an older mediaeval collection of tales called *The Book of Sindibad* or *The Seven Sages*, of which versions exist in many languages, both Oriental and European;[3] for not only is the general

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alone contains the author's dedication and preface. It formerly belonged to the Abbey of Orval (Aurea Vallis) in the diocese of Trèves and was removed, with the rest of the library, for safety to Luxemburg at the time when the Abbey was sacked by the French in 1793. As to the date of *Dolopathos*, see Oesterley's preface, p. xi. The monkish author's orthography is not equal to his diction and style. He uses such forms as *michi* for *mihi*, *nichil* for *nihil*, *herbe* for *herbae*, *nephas* for *nefas*, *etas* for *aetas*, *que* for *quae*, &c.

[1] Le Roux de Lincy, *Roman de Sept Sages de Rome*, printed as an appendix or introduction to A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps's *Essai sur les Fables Indiennes et sur leur Introduction en Europe* (Paris, 1838), but paged separately. The analysis and the extracts include the tale of Polyphemus (pp. 133–135, 239–251), who, however, is not mentioned by name, being simply referred to as "the giant."

[2] *Li Romans de Dolopathos, publié pour la première fois* par Charles Brunet et Anatole de Montaiglon (Paris, 1856). For the story of Polyphemus (who is not mentioned by name), see pp. 284–295. As to the date of this metrical translation see the editors' preface, pp. xvii–xix.

[3] As to *The Book of Sindibad* or *The Seven Sages*, see A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps, *Essai sur les Fables Indiennes et sur leur Introduction en Europe*, pp. 80 *sqq.*; J. Dunlop, *Geschichte der Prosadichtungen*, übertragen von Felix Liebrecht (Berlin, 1851), pp. 196 *sqq.*; D. Comparetti, *Researches concerning the Book of Sindibâd* (London, 1882), pp. 1 *sqq.*

framework or plan of *Dolopathos* the same with that of *Sindibad* or *The Seven Sages*, but out of the eight stories which it contains, three are identical with those included in the earlier work.[1] Among the tales which the two collections have in common the story of Polyphemus is not one, for it appears only in *Dolopathos*.

As told by the author of *Dolopathos* the story of Polyphemus diverges in certain remarkable features from the Homeric account, and since some of these divergences occur in popular versions of the story recorded among various peoples, we may reasonably infer that John de Haute-Seille herein followed oral tradition rather than the Homeric version of the tale.[2] At the same time he certainly appears to have been acquainted with the *Odyssey*; for he not only mentions Polyphemus

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The fullest of the versions is the mediaeval Greek version known as *Syntipas*, of which a critical edition was published by A. Eberhard at Leipsic in 1872 (*Fabulae Romanenses Graece conscriptae*, volumen prius, Leipsic, Teubner, 1872). This version purports to be translated from the Syriac, and a Syriac version was published with a German translation by Fr. Baethgen in 1879 (*Sindban oder Die Sieben Weisen Meister, syrisch und deutsch*, von Friederich Baethgen, Leipsic, 1879); but this version can hardly be the one which Andreopulos translated into Greek, since it is somewhat shorter. Compare D. Comparetti, *op. cit.* p. 63 note, who has made it probable (pp. 53 *sqq.*) that the Greek version (*Syntipas*) was made towards the end of the eleventh century by order of Gabriel, Duke of Melitene. A French translation of the Syriac version was published by F. Macler in 1903 (*Contes Syriaques, Histoire de Sindban, mise en français* par Frédéric Macler, Paris, 1903). The same scholar has since published a French translation of an Armenian version, which seems to have been made from the Latin. See *La version Arménienne de l'Histoire des Sept Sages de Rome, mise en français* par Frédéric Macler (Paris, 1919).

[1] H. Oesterley, preface to his edition of *Dolopathos*, pp. xiii *sqq.*

[2] It is the opinion of Oesterley, his editor, that in general John drew the materials for his work rather from oral tradition than from literary sources. See H. Oesterley's preface, pp. xii *sqq.*

by name but speaks of Circe, daughter of the Sun, and how she transformed the companions of Ulysses into diverse beasts.[1]

The story of Polyphemus, as recorded in *Dolopathos*, runs as follows :—

A famous robber, who had lived to old age and accumulated vast riches in the exercise of his profession, resolved to devote the remainder of his days to the practice of virtue, and in pursuance of that laudable resolution he excited by his exemplary conduct the wonder and admiration of all who remembered the crimes and atrocities of his earlier life. Being invited by the queen to recount the greatest perils and adventures which he had met with in his career of brigandage, he spoke thus: "Once on a time we heard that a giant, who owned great sums of gold and silver, dwelt in a solitary place about twenty miles distant from the abodes of men. Lured by the thirst for gold, a hundred of us robbers assembled together and proceeded with much ado to his dwelling. Arrived there, we had the pleasure of finding him not at home, so we carried off all the gold and silver on which we could lay hands. We were returning home, easy in our minds, when all of a sudden the giant with nine others comes upon us and takes us prisoners, the more shame to us that a hundred men should be captured by ten. They divided us among them, and, as ill luck would have it, I and nine others fell to the share of the one whose riches we had just been lifting. So he tied our hands behind our backs and drove us like so many sheep to his cave; now his stature exceeded thirteen cubits. We offered to pay a great sum as ransom, but he mockingly replied that the only ransom he would accept was our flesh. With that he seized the fattest of our number, cut his throat, and rending him limb by limb, threw him into the pot to boil. He treated the rest of us, all but me, in the same fashion, and to crown it all he forced me to eat of every one of them. Why dwell on the painful subject? When it came to my turn to have my throat cut, I pretended to be a doctor and promised that, if he spared my life, I would heal his eyes, which ached dreadfully. He agreed to these terms for my medical services, and told me to be quick about it. So I

[1] Joannes de Alta Silva, *Dolopathos sive de Rege et Septem Sapientibus*, herausgegeben von H. Oesterley, pp. 71, 99.

took a pint of oil and set it on the fire, and stirring it up with a good dose of lime, salt, sulphur, arsenic, and anything else I could think of that was most injurious and destructive to the eyes, I compounded a salve, and when it was nicely on the boil, I tipped the whole of it on the patient's head. The boiling oil, streaming over every inch of his body, peeled him like an onion; his skin shrivelled up, his sinews stiffened, and what little sight he had left he lost completely. And there he was, like a man in a fit, rolling his huge body about on the floor, roaring like a lion and bellowing like a bull—a really horrid sight. After long rolling about and finding no ease to his pain, he grips his cudgel like a madman and goes groping and fumbling about for me, thumping the walls and the floor like a battering-ram. Meantime what was I to do? and whither could I fly? On every side the house was walled in by the most solid masonry, the only way out was by the door, and even that was barred with bolts of iron. So while he was tearing about after me in every corner, the only thing for me to do was to climb up a ladder to the roof and catch hold of a beam, and there I hung to it by my hands for a whole day and night. When I could bear it no longer, I had just to come down and dodge between the giant's legs and among his flock of sheep. For you must know that he had a thousand sheep and counted them every day. And while he kept a fat one he used to let the others go to grass; and whether it was his skill or his witchery I know not, but at evening they would all come trooping back of themselves, and he got the full tale. So when he was counting them and letting them out as usual, I tried to escape by wrapping me in the shaggy fleece of a ram and fixing his horns on my head; and in that guise I mingled with the flock that was going out. On my turn coming to be counted, he feels me all over, and finding me fat, he keeps me back, saying, 'To-day I'll fill my empty belly on you.' Seven times did I thus pass under his hands, seven times did he keep me back, yet every time I gave him the slip. At last, when I came under his hand once more, he drove me in a rage out of the door, saying, 'Go and be food for the wolves, you who have so often deceived your master.' When I was about a stone's throw off, I began to mock him because I had outwitted him so often and made my escape. But he drew a gold ring from his finger and said, 'Take that for a reward; for it is not meet

that a guest should go without a gift from a man like me.' I took the proffered ring and put it on my finger, and at once I was bewitched by some devilry or other and began to shout, 'Here I am! Here I am!' Thereupon, blind though he was, guided by the sound of my voice, he came tearing along, bounding over the smaller bushes, sometimes stumbling and collapsing like a landslide. When he was nearly up to me, and I could neither stop shouting nor tear the ring from my finger, I was forced to cut off the finger with the ring and to fling it at him. Thus by the loss of a finger did I save my whole body from imminent destruction."[1]

This version differs from the Homeric account in several important respects. It represents the giant as merely blear-eyed instead of one-eyed; it describes the blinding of him as effected by a stratagem which the hero of the tale practises on the giant with his own consent instead of as a violence done to him in his sleep; and it adds an entirely new episode in the trick of the magic ring and the consequent sacrifice of the hero's finger. These discrepancies, which recur, as we shall see, in other versions, confirm the view that the source from which the monk John drew the story was oral tradition rather than the narrative in the *Odyssey*.

(2) All the distinctive features which we have just remarked in the version of John of Haute-Seille meet us again in a West Highland version of the story, which was told by a blind fiddler in the island of Islay. It runs thus: A certain man called Conall Cra Bhuidhe undertook with the help of his sons to steal the brown horse of the King of Lochlann; but in the attempt they were caught by the king, who would have hanged them, if Conall had not saved their lives by telling the story of his adventures. One of his adventures was like

[1] Joannes de Alta Silva, *Dolopathos sive de Rege et Septem Sapientibus*, herausgegeben von H. Oesterley, pp. 66–68; *id.*, herausgegeben von A. Hilka (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 73–75. There are a few minor discrepancies in the texts of these editions. According to Oesterley's text, the hero was obliged to cut off (*abscidere*) his finger; according to Hilka's text, he was compelled to bite it off (*dentibus abscidere*). The word *dentibus* is wanting in the Luxemburg manuscript. The parallel versions are in favour of cutting off, as against biting off, the finger. See below, pp. 412, 413 *sq.*, 415, 416, 418, 419, 421, 422.

that of Ulysses in the cave of Polyphemus. "I was there as a young lad," said Conall, "and I went out hunting, and my father's land was beside the sea, and it was rough with rocks and caves and chasms. When I was going on the shore, I saw a smoke curling up between two rocks, and while I was looking at it, I fell; but the place was so full of manure that neither skin nor bone was broken. Then I heard a great clattering, and what was there but a great giant and two dozen of goats with him, and a buck at their head? And when the giant had tied the goats, he came up and he said to me, 'Ho, Conall, it's long since my knife is rusting in my pouch waiting for thy tender flesh.' 'Och,' said I, 'it's not much thou wilt be bettered by me, though thou shouldst tear me asunder; I will make but one meal for thee. But I see thou art one-eyed. I am a good leech, and I will give thee the sight of the other eye.' The giant went and he drew the great cauldron on the site of the fire. I told him how to heat the water so that I should give its sight to the other eye. I got heather, and I made a rubber of it, and I set him upright in the cauldron. I began at the eye that was well, pretending to him that I would give its sight to the other one, till I left them as bad as each other; and surely it was easier to spoil the one that was well than to give sight to the other.

"When he saw that he could not see at all, and when I myself said to him that I would get out in spite of him, he gave a spring out of the water and stood at the mouth of the cave, and he said that he would have revenge for the sight of his eye. I had to stay there crouched all night, holding my breath that he might not feel where I was. When he heard the birds calling in the morning, and knew that it was day, he said, 'Art thou sleeping? Awake and let out my goats.' I killed the buck. He cried, 'I will not believe that thou art killing my buck.' 'I am not,' said I, 'but the ropes are so tight that I take long to loose them.' I let out one of the goats, and he caressed her, and he said to her, 'There thou art, thou shaggy white goat, and thou seest me, but I see thee not.' I let them out one by one, as I flayed the buck, and before the last one was out I had flayed him bag-wise. Then I put my legs in place of his legs, and my hands in place of his fore legs, and my head in place of his head, and the horns on top of my head, so that the brute might think that it was the buck. I went out. When I

was going out, the giant laid his hand on me, and he said, 'There thou art, my pretty buck; thou seest me, but I see thee not.' When I myself got out, and I saw the world about me, surely, oh King! joy was on me.

"When I was out and had shaken the skin off me, I said to the brute, 'I am out now in spite of thee.' 'Aha!' said he, 'hast thou done this to me? Since thou wert so stalwart that thou hast got out, I will give thee a ring that I have here, and keep the ring, and it will do thee good.' 'I will not take the ring from thee,' said I, 'but throw it, and I will take it with me.' He threw the ring on the flat ground, I went myself and I lifted the ring, and I put it on my finger. Then he said, 'Does the ring fit thee?' I said to him, 'It does.' He said, 'Where art thou, ring?' And the ring said, 'I am here.' The brute came towards where the ring was speaking, and now I saw that I was in a harder case than ever I was. I drew a dirk. I cut off my finger, and I threw it from me as far as I could on the loch, and the place was very deep. He shouted, 'Where art thou, ring?' And the ring said, 'I am here,' though it was at the bottom of the ocean. He gave a leap after the ring, and down he went in the sea. I was pleased when I saw him drowning, and when he was drowned I went in, and I took with me all he had of gold and silver, and I went home, and surely great joy was on my people when I arrived. And as a sign for thee, look thou, the finger is off me."[1]

(3) In another Highland story, recorded in Argyllshire, a one-eyed giant carries the hero of the tale into his cave, intending to devour him; but with the help of a king's daughter, whom the giant had detained for seven years, the hero contrives to blind the monster by thrusting a red-hot bar into his single eye while he sleeps. There is no mention of sheep or goats in this story, and the episode of the talking ring is also absent.[2]

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[1] J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, New Edition, I (Paisley and London, 1890), pp. 105–114 (Tale V). I have slightly abridged the story and changed a few words for the sake of the English idiom.

[2] D. MacInnes, *Folk and Hero Tales* (London, 1890), pp. 263, 265, 267 (*Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition, Argyllshire Series*, No. II).

(4) The incident of the ring and the severed finger occurs also in two Basque stories of the same type. One of them was told by the parish priest of Esquiule, in La Soule, as follows :

" In my infancy I often heard from my mother the story of the Tartaro. He was a Colossus, with only one eye in the middle of his forehead. He was a shepherd and a hunter, but a hunter of men. Every day he ate a sheep ; then, after a snooze, everyone who had the misfortune to fall into his hands. His dwelling was a huge barn, with thick walls, a high roof, and a very strong door, which he alone knew how to open. His mother, an old witch, lived in one corner of the garden, in a hut constructed of turf.

" One day a powerful young man was caught in the snares of the Tartaro, who carried him off to his house. This young man saw the Tartaro eat a whole sheep, and he knew that he was accustomed to take a snooze, and then after that his own turn would come. In his despair he said to himself that he must do something. Directly the Tartaro began to snore he put the spit into the fire, made it red-hot, and plunged it into the giant's one eye. Immediately he leapt up, and began to run after the man who had injured him : but it was impossible to find him. ' You shall not escape. It is all very well to hide yourself,' said he, ' but I alone know the secret how to open this door.'

" The Tartaro opened the door half-way, and let the sheep out between his legs. The young man takes the big bell off the ram, and puts it round his neck, and throws over his body the skin of the sheep which the giant had just eaten, and walks on all fours to the door. The Tartaro examines him by feeling him, perceives the trick, and clutches hold of the skin ; but the young man slips off the skin, dives between his legs, and runs off.

" Immediately the mother of the Tartaro meets him, and says to him : ' O, you lucky young fellow ! You have escaped the cruel tyrant ; take this ring as a remembrance of your escape.' He accepts, puts the ring on his finger, and immediately the ring begins to cry out, ' *Heben nuk ! Heben nuk !* ' (' Thou hast me here ! Thou hast me here ! ') The Tartaro pursues, and is on the point of catching him, when the young man, maddened with fright, and not being able to pull off the ring, takes out his knife, and cuts off his

own finger, and throws it away, and thus escapes the pursuit of the Tartaro."[1]

(5) Another Basque story of the same sort was told by Jean Sallaber of Aussurucq as follows:

Two soldiers of the same district, having got their furlough, were returning home on foot together. Night fell as they were traversing a great forest. But in the twilight they perceived a smoke in the distance, so they turned their steps towards it and discovered a poor hovel. They knocked at the door, and a voice from within answered, "Who is there?" "Two friends," they answered. "What do you want?" asked the voice. "A lodging for the night," they replied. The door opened, they were admitted, and then the door closed. Brave as the soldiers were, they were yet terrified at finding themselves in the presence of a Basa-Jaun. He had the figure of a man, but was all covered with hair, and had a single eye in the middle of his forehead.

The Basa-Jaun set food before them, and when they had finished their supper, he weighed them and said to the heavier, "You will do for to-night, and the other for to-morrow"; and without more ado he ran a big spit through the latter of the two, without even stripping him of his clothes, and after setting him to roast on the spit before a great fire, he ate him up. The other was in a sad fright, not knowing what to do to save his life.

Having made a hearty meal, the Basa-Jaun fell asleep. Immediately the soldier laid hold of the spit which had served to roast his comrade, heated it red-hot in the fire, and plunging it into the eye of the Basa-Jaun, blinded him. Howling aloud, the Basa-Jaun ran about everywhere to find the stranger; but the soldier had made haste to hide in the fold, among the sheep of the Basa-Jaun: for he could not get out, because the door was shut.

Next morning the Basa-Jaun opened the door of the fold, and, wishing to catch the soldier, he made all the sheep, on their way out, pass one by one between his legs. But the soldier had conceived the idea of skinning a sheep and clothing himself in its fleece, in order that the blinded giant should not catch him. As the Basa-Jaun felt all the sheep,

[1] Wentworth Webster, *Basque Legends* (London, 1879), pp. 4 *sq.*

the skin of the flayed one remained in his hands, and he thought that the man had passed out under it.

The soldier did escape, and very glad he was to do so. But the Basa-Jaun ran after him as well as he could, crying, "Hold, take this ring, in order that, when you are at home, you may be able to tell what a marvel you have done!" And with that he threw him the ring. The soldier picked it up and put it on his finger; but the ring began to speak and to say, "Here I am! Here I am!" Away ran the soldier, and the blinded monster after him. At last, worn out with his flight, and fearing to be overtaken by the Basa-Jaun, the soldier would have thrown the ring into a stream, but he could not wrench it from his finger. So he cut off the finger and threw it with the ring into the stream. From the bottom of the river the ring continued to cry, "Here I am! Here I am!" and hearing the cry the Basa-Jaun rushed into the water and was drowned. Then the soldier crossed the stream on a bridge and escaped, very happy, to his home.[1]

(6) The episode of the talking ring and the severed finger occurs also in a Rumanian story of the same type. In it a man sends his three sons out with the flock of sheep and warns them not to answer if anyone should hail them by night. But they neglect his warning, and in the night, when a voice has hailed them thrice, they all answer, "Here we are." A giant now appears and calls to them to roast their fattest wether for him, because he is hungry. When the wether is roasted, the giant swallows it at a gulp, and orders the three brothers to follow him with the flock. He leads them to his home, where they are obliged to leave the sheep in the walled courtyard. When they enter the giant's house, they bid him good evening, but he answers that the eldest brother will serve him for supper that same evening, that the second brother will do the same the next evening, and that the youngest brother will be kept for the next day but one. He then made up a big fire, hung a huge kettle over it, and lay down to sleep, after telling the brothers to wake him when the water should boil. They did so accordingly, whereupon he seized the eldest brother, threw him into the kettle, boiled him till he was tender, and then ate

[1] J. Vinson, *Le Folk-lore du pays Basque* (Paris, 1883), pp. 42–45.

him. Thereupon he put water to boil on the fire again and lay down, with an injunction to wake him at the time appointed. But the youngest brother skimmed off the fat of his boiled brother as it floated on the water, and having got it he secreted it. The giant slept till evening, then waking from his nap he seized the second brother and devoured him. A third time he set water on the fire, ordering the surviving brother to waken him as usual. Meantime the survivor found a tripod in the kitchen, set his brother's fat on it, and roasted it over the fire. Then he flung the roasted fat and the tripod at the sleeping giant, thus putting out both his eyes. Up started the giant in a fury and tried to catch the young man, but the youth threw him off the scent by dropping nuts, which he had in his wallet, one after the other on the floor. In his blind rage the giant seized the latch and wrenched the door open. The young man darted out into the courtyard, slaughtered a ram, and crept into its skin. Not suspecting the trick, the giant now opened the gate of the courtyard and let the sheep out one by one in the hope of catching his prisoner when he should attempt to escape. But the disguised youth slipped through and called out mockingly to the giant, "Now you can do nothing to me." Then the giant, making believe to be friendly, called after him, "Take this ring from my little finger for a memorial." The young man picked it up and put it on. Then the ring began to call out, "This way, blind man, this way!" Away ran the youth and the giant after him. The fugitive reached the water first, but the giant was close on his heels; so the young man cut off his own finger with the ring on it, and threw it into the waves. As the ring continued to call out, "This way, blind man, this way!" the giant leaped into the water and was drowned.[1]

(7) The episode of an enchanted, though not talking, ring and a severed finger, meets us in two Italian stories of this type. One of them, recorded in the Abruzzo, tells of two brothers who were going to a fair. As they were crossing a rugged mountain, night overtook them. They saw a gleam of light in a cave, and approaching they called out, "Master of the house, will you give us shelter?" A voice

[1] W. Grimm, *Die Sage von Polyphem*, pp. 15 *sq.*, referring to Franz Obert (*Ausland*, 29, 717).

from within answered, "Wait." They waited, and out came a giant who had an eye in his forehead. He said, "Pray come in. Here there is no lack of anything." The two brothers went in, but they were all of a tremble, all the more because Eye-in-his-forehead shut the door with a bolt which not a hundred men could lift. Standing in front of the fire, Eye-in-his-forehead said to the two brothers, "I have a hundred sheep, but the year is long, and we must be as thrifty as may be. So which shall we eat first? Little Brother or Big Brother? You may cast lots for it." The two brothers cast lots, and the lot fell on Big Brother. So Big Brother was stuck on a spit and set on the hot coals. While Eye-in-his-forehead turned the spit, he said in an undertone, "Big Brother to-day, Little Brother to-morrow." Little Brother racked his brains to think how he could escape from the danger. Meantime Big Brother was roasted, and Eye-in-his-forehead began to eat him. He wished Little Brother to eat too, and Little Brother pretended to eat, but he threw the meat behind his back. Dinner over, Eye-in-his-forehead went to sleep in the straw, but Little Brother remained beside the fire. When he perceived that Eye-in-his-forehead snored, he heated the point of the spit red-hot and thrust it, fizzing, into the giant's eye. The giant started up to catch Little Brother, but Little Brother nimbly mixed with the sheep, and though the giant searched the sheep, feeling them one by one, he could not discover the fugitive. However, he said, "I'll catch him at break of day." Little Brother thought it was all up with him unless he could hit on some dodge or other. So he killed the ram, skinned it, and dressed himself in the skin. At break of day Eye-in-his-forehead removed the bolt and stood straddling in the doorway. And first of all he called for the ram with the bell on its neck. Little Brother came forward, jingling the bell and going on all fours. As he passed between the legs of Eye-in-his-forehead, the giant caressed him, and so he did to the rest of the sheep. But groping about in the cave he lighted on the carcass of the ram which Little Brother had killed and skinned. Then he perceived the trick which Little Brother had played him, and sniffing about in his direction he threw him an enchanted ring. Little Brother picked it up and put it on his finger, but having done so he found himself compelled, instead of running away, to draw

near to the giant. In vain he tried to pull the ring from his finger; the ring would not budge. So in order not to fall into the hands of Eye-in-his-forehead he cut off the finger on which was the ring, and threw it in the face of the giant who ate it and said to Little Brother, "At least I have tasted you."[1]

(8) Another Italian version of the story, recorded at Pisa, tells of a man of Florence who set out on his travels. On the way he picked up a curate and a workman, and the three agreed to try their fortunes together. Walking through a wood for a long time, they came at last to a very fine palace and knocked at the door. A giant opened the door in person and asked them where they were going. "Oh, just taking a turn," said they. "Very well," said the giant, "just turn in here. There's a vacancy in the curacy of my parish, and a vacancy in my workshop, and I'll find some job or other for him," alluding to the Florentine. All three closed with the offer, and put up in the giant's house. He gave them a room and said, "To-morrow I'll give you your jobs to do." Next day the giant came to them, took the curate, and led him away to another chamber. Instigated by the passion of curiosity, the Florentine followed on tiptoe, and applying his eye to the keyhole of the chamber in which the curate was getting his job, he saw the giant showing him some leaves, and while the clergyman was looking at them, what does the giant do but whip out a scimitar, and in less than no time he had the curate's head off and his body in a grave, which was in the chamber. "Good idea of mine to come here," thought the Florentine to himself. When they were at dinner, the giant said, "The curate has got his job. Now I'll give the workman his." So after dinner he led the workman to the same chamber. The Florentine followed as before, and again applying his eye to the keyhole, he saw the giant taking some leaves from his writing-desk and showing them to the workman, and while the workman was gazing at them, the giant performed the sword-trick once more. "My turn next," thought the Florentine to himself.

That evening at supper the giant remarked that the work-

[1] Antonio de Nino, *Usi e Costumi Abruzzesi* (Florence, 1879–1883), III. 305–307.

man had got his job, and that he, the giant, would soon find a job for the Florentine too. But the Florentine had no wish to do the job in question, and he cudgelled his brains as to how he could get out of it. At last he thought of a plan. It happened that one of the giant's eyes was defective; so he said to the giant, "What a pity that with that fine figure of yours you should have such an eye! But look here, I know a cure for it, it is a certain herb which I have seen here in the meadow." "Really?" said the giant, "here in the meadow? Then let's go and find it." When they were in the meadow, the Florentine picked up the first herb he saw, and bringing it back with him put it in a pot of oil, which he set on the fire. When the oil was boiling, the Florentine said to the giant, "I warn you that the pain will be great; but you must keep steady, and it will be well that I should tie you to this marble table, for otherwise the operation will turn out ill." The giant, who was bent on having his bad eye put right, told the Florentine to tie away. The Florentine did as he was desired, and then poured the boiling oil on both the giant's eyes. "You have blinded me," roared the giant; but the other stole softly down the stair, opened the door, and cut away. The giant had now lost both his eyes, but such was his strength that he rose to his feet with the marble table on his back, and made after his foe. "Come here! Come here!" he cried, "fear not. At least take a keepsake." And he threw a ring to the Florentine, who picked it up and put it on his finger. But no sooner had he done so than his finger was turned to marble, and he could not budge from the spot. In vain did he tug at the ring; he could not stir it from his finger. And now the giant was all but up with him. In despair the fugitive drew a knife, which he had in his pocket, and cut off his finger. Then he could move again, and away he tore, and the giant, encumbered by the table on his shoulders, could not catch him up. The wanderer reached Florence in a state of exhaustion, and by this time he had had enough of it. The wish to scour the world and to tell of his travels never came back on him.[1] In this version we miss the characteristic episode of the hero's escape under a ram or clad in a sheepskin.

[1] D. Comparetti, *Novelline popolari Italiane* (Rome, Turin, and Florence, 1875), No. 44, pp. 192–195.

(9) A Serbian story of this type relates how a priest and his scholar were once walking through a great mountainous region when night overtook them. Seeing a fire burning in a cave some way off, they made for it. On reaching the cave they found nobody in it except a giant with one eye in his forehead. They asked him if he would let them enter, and he answered "Yes." But the mouth of the cave was blocked with a huge stone, which a hundred men could not have stirred. The giant arose, lifted the stone, and let them in. Then he rolled back the stone into the mouth of the cave and kindled a great fire. The travellers sat down beside it and warmed themselves. When they had done so, the giant felt their necks in order to know which was the fatter, that he might kill and roast him. Finding the parson the fatter of the two, he knocked him on the head, stuck him on a spit, and roasted him over the fire. When he was done to a turn, the giant invited the scholar to partake of the roasted flesh, and though the scholar protested that he was not hungry, the giant forced him to take a mouthful, which, however, he spat out on the sly. Having eaten his fill, the giant composed himself to slumber beside the fire. While he slept, the scholar sharpened a stick and thrusting it into the giant's eye, blinded him. "You have robbed me of my one eye," roared the giant, "because I had not the sense to put out both of yours. But no matter. Thank God, you will not escape me." He groped about in the cave, but could not find the scholar, because there were many sheep in it, and the scholar had drawn a ram's skin over his body and in that disguise had mingled with the flock. Then the giant went to the mouth of the cave, pushed the great stone a little aside, and let the sheep pass out, one after the other, and the scholar in the ram's skin slipped out with them. Having escaped into the open, he cried to the giant, "Seek for me no more. I am out." When the giant saw that his prisoner had given him the slip, he held out a staff to him, saying, "Though you have escaped me, take this staff to shepherd the sheep with; for without it you will not get a single sheep to budge." The simple scholar took it, and no sooner had he touched it than one of his fingers clave fast to the staff. He now gave himself up for lost and began to run round and round the giant, till he remembered that he had his clasp-knife on him

Whipping it out, he cut off the finger that clave to the staff, and so he escaped. Afterwards, driving the flock before him, he mocked and jeered at the blinded giant, who pursued him till he came to the edge of the water, into which he fell and was drowned.[1]

(10) A Russian story, which belongs to the same class, tells how once upon a time there was a smith. "Well now," says he, "I've never set eyes on any harm. They say there's evil (*likho*) in the world. I'll go and seek out evil." So he went and started in search of evil, and on the way he met a tailor, who agreed to join him in the search. Well, they walked and walked till they came to a dark, dense forest, and in the forest they found a narrow path, and along the path they walked till they saw a large cottage standing before them. It was night, and there was nowhere else to go to. So they went in. There was nobody there. All looked bare and squalid. They sat down, and remained sitting there some time. Presently in came a tall woman, lank, crooked, with only one eye. "Ah!" says she, "I've visitors. Good day to you." "Good day, grandmother. We've come to pass the night under your roof." "Very good: I shall have something to sup on."

Thereupon they were greatly terrified. As for her, she went and fetched a great heap of firewood. She flung it into the stove, and set it alight. Then she took the tailor, cut his throat, trussed him, and put him in the oven. When she had finished her supper, the smith looked at the oven and said, "Granny, I'm a smith." "What can you forge?" "Anything." "Make me an eye." "Good," says he; "but have you got any cord? I must tie you up, or you won't keep still. I shall have to hammer your eye in."

She went and fetched two cords, one rather thin, the other thicker. Well, he bound her with the thinner, but she broke it. So he took the thick cord, and tied her up with it famously. She wriggled and writhed, but break it she could not. Then he took an awl, heated it red-hot, and applied the point of it to her sound eye, while he hammered away at the other end with a hatchet. She struggled like anything and broke the

[1] W. S. Karadschitsch, *Volksmärchen der Serben* (Berlin, 1854), No. 38, pp. 222–225; F. S. Krauss, *Sagen und Märchen der Südslaven* (Leipsic, 1883), No. 5, Vol. I, pp. 170–173.

cord; then she went and sat down at the threshold. "Ah, villain!" she cried, "you shan't get away from me now."

By and by the sheep came home from afield, and she drove them into her cot-age for the night. Well, the smith spent the night there, too. In the morning she got up to let the sheep out. He took his sheep-skin pelisse and turned it inside out, so that the wool was outside, passed his arms through its sleeves, and pulled it well over him, and then crept up to her as if he had been a sheep. She let the flock go out one at a time, catching hold of each by the wool on its back, and shoving it out. Well, he came creeping up like the rest. She caught hold of the wool on his back and shoved him out. But as soon as she had shoved him out, he stood up and cried, "Farewell, Likho! I have suffered much evil (*Likho*) at your hands. No, you can do nothing to me." "Wait a bit!" she replied, "you shall endure still more."

The smith went back through the forest along the narrow path. Presently he saw a golden-handled hatchet sticking in a tree, and he felt a strong desire to seize it. Well, he did seize that hatchet, and his hand stuck fast to it. What was to be done? There was no freeing it anyhow. He gave a look behind him. There was Likho coming after him and crying, "There you are, villain! you've not got off yet." The smith pulled out a knife and began hacking away at his hand; he cut it clean off and ran away. When he reached his village, he showed the stump of his arm as a proof that he had seen Likho at last.[1]

(11) A story which resembles this Russian tale in some points is told by the Esthonians. They call the farm-servant who has the superintendence of barns and corn the Barn-carl (*Rooperkarl*).[2] One day when a Barn-carl sat casting knobs in a mould, up comes to him the devil, bids him good-day, and asks him what he is doing. "I am casting eyes," says the Barn-carl. "Eyes?" quoth the devil. "Can you cast new eyes for me?" "Yes," says the Barn-carl, "but just at the moment I have no more in stock."

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[1] W. R. S. Ralston, *Russian Folk-tales* (London, 1873), pp. 178–181; W. W. Strickland, *Russian and Bulgarian Folk-lore Stories* (London, 1907), pp. 38 *sqq.*

[2] *Riege* is "a building for drying corn spread out" (Lucas)

"But perhaps you could do it some other time?" asks the devil. "That I could," says the Barn-carl. "When shall I come then?" asks the devil. "When you please," says the Barn-carl. Next day the devil came to get his new pair of eyes. "Do you want big eyes or small ones?" asks the Barn-carl. "Right big ones," says the devil. The man set a lump of lead to melt on the fire and said, "I can't mould you the eyes when you are like that. You must let yourself be tied up fast." With that he made the devil lie down on his back on a bench, took a strong cord, and bound him tight. When the devil was bound tight, he asked the Barn-carl, "What is your name?" "My name," he said, "is Myself" (*Iesi*). "That's a good name," quoth the devil, "I never heard a better." By this time the lead was molten, and the devil opened his eyes wide, expecting to get new ones. "Here goes," quoth the Barn-carl, and with that he pours the molten lead on the devil's eyes. Up jumps the devil with the bench tied to his back and makes off at a run. Some people were ploughing in a field, and as the poor devil tore past them, they asked him, "Who did that to you?" "Myself did it," says he. They laughed. But the devil died of his new eyes, and has never been seen since.[1]

Here the trick of "Myself" played by the Barn-carl on the devil resembles the trick of "Nobody" played by Ulysses on Polyphemus.

(12) A similar trick is played on a blinded giant in a Lapp tale, which in other respects resembles the Homeric story still more closely. Many hundred years ago, we are told, when there were still giants and trolls among the mountains and hills, a man might easily stumble on a troll against his will when he passed the boundary of his home-land. Well, it chanced once on a time that four Lapps, who had gone out to seek their reindeer, lost their way on the mountains. Three whole days and as many nights did they wander about without coming to a human habitation, and they were near dead with hunger and weariness when at last they spied a light that seemed to shine at the foot of a mountain, whose top reached the clouds. Joyfully they hastened to it, expecting to find a human dwelling. But when they reached

[1] W. Grimm, *Die Sage von Polyphem*, pp. 16 *sq.*; J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, II. 858 *sq.*

the foot of the mountain, they found that the light glimmered from a cave under the crag. After a moment's deliberation they resolved to enter the cave. When they had penetrated it might be a couple of musket shots into the bowels of the mountain, they found themselves in a great hall, of which the roof and the walls were of purest silver and so bright that you could see yourself in them as in a looking-glass. Not a human being was to be seen, but there were more than a hundred gigantic goats, both billy-goats and nanny-goats. In one corner of the hall there was a great hearth with a fire blazing merrily on it, and over the fire hung a prodigious big kettle with the flesh of a whole ox boiling in it. As the Lapps were very sharp set, they gathered round the kettle and began to eat the beef.

When they had satisfied their hunger, they put out the fire by pouring the hot water from the kettle on it, and having done so they filled the kettle with cold water. What was left of the beef in the kettle they hid. Then, poking about in the cave, they discovered great store of gold and silver and other precious things, but they did not dare to lay hands on them as not knowing to whom all these riches might belong. Suspecting that the owner might be no mere man, they made up their minds to quit the cave after they had rested a little from their weary wanderings. So they hid in a dark corner of the cave and fell asleep. Hardly had they done so when they were awakened by a noise so loud that they thought their last hour was come. Next moment they saw a man stride into the cave, and he was so big that they were all amazed, for they knew at once that he was a giant. To escape was impossible, and they made up their minds to keep quite still.

The giant stopped short in the middle of the cave and began to crinkle his nose and to sniff and snuff on all sides. "Very odd," he muttered at last, "it can't be that there should have been somebody here." Then he went up to the hearth, and, lifting the lid from the kettle, he looked in and was not a little surprised to find nothing in it but water. In a rage he flung the lid at the silver roof, where it stuck; then he began to rummage every corner and crevice of the cave. It was not long before he lit upon the terrified Lapps, dragged the biggest of them out, and threw him into the kettle to boil, forgetting that the kettle could not boil without fire. The

rest of the Lapps he chained up to the wall of the cave, then lay down to sleep till the Lapp in the kettle should be boiled.

Not many minutes passed before he snored so loud that the mountain shook and the cinders danced on the hearth. Then the Lapp stepped out of the kettle, freed his comrades from their chains, and with them hastened to the mouth of the cave. But to their dismay they found that the giant had barred it with a stone so huge that all four of them could not stir it.

After laying their heads together for an hour they turned back into the cave, resolved by hook or crook to play the giant a trick. The beef which they had hidden they put into the kettle again, and the three Lapps went back to the places where the giant had chained them up; but the fourth Lapp hid behind a great coop near the door.

The giant now woke up and hurried to the kettle to see whether the Lapp were boiled, but not finding him in it he went to the other prisoners and threatened to knock them on the head out of hand if they did not tell him where their friend had gone. One of the Lapps swore that sure his friend must be in the kettle, and that the giant's eyes must be blear not to see him. "That would be odd," said the giant, who was a little ashamed of his hastiness, "but now that I think of it, I do believe that of late my sight has been a bit dim." "Well," said the Lapp, "a good eye-salve will soon set that right." "Can you make up such a salve?" asked the giant. "To be sure," says the Lapp; "as soon as you get my salve in your eyes you will see fifty miles just as well as fifty yards. But you must know that it smarts horribly." "No matter," says the giant, "just you make up the salve and let me have it as quick as may be." "With all my heart," says the Lapp, "if you will pay me well for it." "You shall live with me fourteen whole days," says the giant, "till I have eaten up your friends. But you must tell me your name, lest I should eat you up instead." The Lapp said that his name was Nobody, and the giant repeated it ten times to make quite sure that he should not forget it. A fire was now made on the hearth, the Lapp heated five pounds of lead on it, and when it was molten he poured it on the giant's eyes, which of course were quite put out by it.

The giant soon perceived that Nobody had tricked him, so he began to call his neighbour to help him to serve out the

Lapp. His neighbour came running and asked who had hurt him, that he howled so dolefully. "Nobody has done it," answered the giant. On that the neighbour, thinking that he was joking, flew into a rage and said, "Then you can help yourself. Don't call me another time, or it will be the worse for you." And with that he went away.

As he got no help from his neighbour, the giant now made shift to search the cave and catch his foes; but they hid behind the goats, so that he could not find them. After groping about in this way for a long time he came to see that the beasts were in the way of his search. So he went to the doorway, took away the big stone which served as a door, and let out the goats one by one, after making sure that none of the Lapps slipped out with them.

When the Lapps saw what he was up to, they killed four billy goats with all speed, skinned them, and wrapped themselves up in the skins, after which they crawled out of the cave on hands and feet, taking as much gold and silver with them as they could carry. When the last Lapp was about to leave the cave, the giant detained him, caressed him, and stroked his back, saying, "My poor big billy goat, you will now be without a master." After caressing the supposed billy goat, he let him go; then he shut up the mouth of the cave with the big stone, and with a grin cried out, "Now I've got you in the trap! Now we shall see which of us can chouse the other best, my dear Mr. Nobody!"

Nobody knows what afterwards befel the silly giant. As like as not, he went round and round the cave looking for the Lapps, till he died of hunger.[1]

(13) A Lapp variant of the preceding story runs as follows: Once on a time Slyboots[2] lost his way and came to the abode of a Stalo. This Stalo owned a house, a kitchen, and sheep. It was his way, whenever he got hold of a poor little oaf of a Lapp, to keep him by him for a time, so as to fatten him before he made a meal of him. He thought to do the same thing to Slyboots. But Slyboots thought of a dodge to blind

[1] J. C. Poestion, *Lappländische Märchen* (Vienna, 1886), No. 29, pp. 122–126.

[2] *Aschenputtel*, equivalent to the "Boots" of our fairy tales, a general name for the youngest son, who is supposed to be slyer than his elder brothers.

the Stalo. So he made believe to be very sharp-sighted and to be able to see all sorts of funny things ever so far off. The Stalo glowered for all he was worth in the same direction, but could make out just nothing at all. "Look here, young man," says he, "however do you come to be so sharp-sighted?" "Oh," says Slyboots, "it's in this way. I let them drip a drop of lead in my eyes. That's why I am so sharp-sighted." "Oh, that's it, is it?" says the Stalo. "Come on, my dear chap, and pour a little molten lead in my eyes. I should so like to be as sharp-sighted as you." "I'll do it with all my heart," says Slyboots, "but you could not stand it, for it hurts rather." "Not stand it?" says the Stalo. "I'll stand anything to be as sharp-sighted as you."

So Slyboots must needs, as if against his will, pour lead into the Stalo's eyes. He made him lie on his back and poured the lead first into one eye. The Stalo whimpered, but said, "Look sharp, my dear fellow, and pour the lead into the other eye also." The young man did so. "Now," said he, "you will be blind for a while, till your eyes have grown accustomed to the change; but afterwards you will see like anything."

It was now arranged that so long as the Stalo was blind, the young man should take charge of the household. So he picked out a fat ram from the Stalo's sheep and slaughtered it, and next he took the Stalo's old dog and slaughtered him too. In the evening he boiled the fat mutton for himself in one pot, and in another pot he cooked the dog's flesh for the Stalo, and when all was ready he served up the dog's flesh to the Stalo in a trough, while he devoted his own attention to the mutton. The Stalo heard him pegging away and smacking his lips, while he himself could hardly get his teeth into the tough old dog's flesh. "Look here, young man," says he, "what's all that smacking and licking of the lips that I hear, while my jaws only creak and clatter?" But the Slyboots fobbed him off with some answer or other.

However it was not long before the Stalo perceived that Slyboots had made a fool of him, for the sharp sight which had been promised him was still to seek. In fact he was blind and remained so. So he now racked his brains to know how he could pay Slyboots off for the trick he had played him. At last one day he told Slyboots to go into the fold and count the sheep. "That's easily done," says

Slyboots, and in he goes. But blind as the Stalo was, he came on the heels of Slyboots and set himself plump in the doorway. "Aha!" thinks he to himself, "now I've got you in the trap! you shan't slip from my claws!" But Slyboots was not so easily to be cast down. "Let all my sheep out, one after the other," said the Stalo, "but my big ram last of all." "All right," said the youth, "so be it." Then he let the sheep out between the legs of the Stalo, who stood straddling in the doorway. But Slyboots slaughtered the big ram and skinned him. And when it came to his turn, he put on the ram's skin and crawled on all fours between the Stalo's legs. "Aha!" said the Stalo, "that's my fine, fat ram!" and he clapped the supposed ram on the back. At last the Stalo said, "Now come out yourself, my fine fellow!" Then Slyboots cried to him from without, "I've been out ever so long."[1]

(14) A Finnish tale of the same general type, but lacking some characteristic features of the Homeric story, is as follows. A poor ostler, named Gylpho, sets out to free three king's daughters, who are kept prisoners spellbound in a subterranean cave. He arrives in an iron chamber, where one of the princesses is watched by the old rock-spirit Kammo, who has a great horn on his head, and a single eye in the middle of his forehead. The monster smells human flesh, but the maiden contrives to lull his suspicions. His eye had grown dim, and the eyelashes had grown into it, so that he could not see the young man. The stove was heated, and beside it stood a great iron poker with which the rock-spirit used to poke the fire. Gylpho took it quietly, heated it red-hot, and then poked it into the spirit's eye. Up got Kammo and screamed so loud that the rocks echoed with the shriek. He groped about, but could not find his foe, who seized a chance of hewing off the spirit's head.[2]

(15) The Finnish scholar Castren records, with some surprise, that in Russian Karelia, which borders on Finland, he met with a tale like that of Ulysses and Polyphemus in Homer. The hero of the Karelian story is shut up in a castle, where

[1] J. C. Poestion, *Lappländische Märchen*, No. 36, pp. 152–154.

[2] W. Grimm, *Die Sage von Polyphem*, p. 17, referring to Bertram, *Finnische Volksmärchen und Sprichwörter*, p. 9.

he is watched by a giant blind of one eye. In order to escape from the castle the Karelian hero resorts to the same stratagem as that to which the Greek hero had recourse in a similar plight. He pokes out the giant's eye by night, and next morning, when the giant sends out his sheep to graze, the hero hides himself under one of them, and so has the good luck to pass out of the castle gate.[1]

(16) From Lithuania is reported a tale which bears a close, if not a suspicious, resemblance to the Homeric story. It runs thus. One day a ship put in to an island. The skipper landed with his crew. To cook their victuals they built a hearth of stones, and looking about for a big flat stone to serve as a hearth-stone, they spied just such a stone as they wanted at the foot of a mountain. Having pried it up by their united efforts, they saw to their surprise that the big smooth stone had covered a wide opening with steps leading down into a cave. They descended and soon saw that they were in a giant's house. The house was so huge that you could hardly see the vaulted roof, in the middle of which was an aperture that allowed the sunlight to enter and the smoke to escape.

While they were looking about, they heard a sudden rumbling, and soon a giant, tall as a tower, came down the steps, after closing the entrance with the big stone. Next he planted a whole forest of trees about the hearth and set them on fire. By the light of the fire the mariners saw to their horror that the giant had only one eye in the middle of his forehead. They tried to flee to the barred entrance, but the giant perceived them, seized one of them, and swallowed him at a gulp. The others he drove back into the inner part of the cave. Then he stirred the fire and began to milk the ewes, and next he set a huge kettle on the fire to boil the milk. When the milk boiled, he quaffed it, lay down on his bed of moss, and fell asleep. Soon he slept so soundly that the whole mountain quaked with his snoring.

The sailors now plucked up courage, and the skipper unfolded a plan for their salvation. He had noticed a great iron spit belonging to the giant. The point of it he soon heated red-hot in the fire, and then with the help of the crew he

[1] M. A. Castren, *Reisen im Norden* (Leipsic, 1853), pp. 98 *sq.*

rammed it into the giant's eye. The glowing iron hissed, and the blood spouted up in a jet, falling back in drops that scalded like boiling water. Up started the giant, bellowing with pain, but though he groped and fumbled along the sides and floor of the cave, he could not catch his assailants, for they had hidden in the sheep-fold.

Thus baffled, the giant fell into a terrible fury, hurling the burning brands in all directions to set fire to his foes. But instead of igniting them he only set fire to his own mossy bed, and soon the cave was filled with such a thick smoke that the giant was obliged to quit it and sit down in front of the entrance, plotting revenge. But the skipper devised a new device to effect an escape. He tied every one of his men under a sheep, and getting himself under the old tup that led the flock, he and the rest passed out with the sheep when they trooped out of the cave. Thus they all escaped from the giant. Once safe on board, the skipper could not help mocking the giant, who replied by hurling mighty rocks in the direction of the voice. One of the rocks smashed the stern of the ship and killed some of the crew. It was with difficulty that the skipper and the rest of the crew contrived to save themselves in the damaged vessel.[1]

(17) A German version of the widespread tale has been recorded in the Harz mountains. A clever man, travelling with six companions, comes to a land ruled by a giant, twelve feet high, six feet broad, and furnished with only one eye, which is planted in the middle of his forehead and is as big as a cheese-bowl. The giant catches the seven and devours one of them a day. When only the clever man and one comrade are left, they devise a plan of escape. In the night they make an iron red-hot, thrust it into the giant's one eye, and take to their heels. The giant makes after them with huge strides, but in his blindness fails to catch them.[2]

(18) An English version of the Polyphemus story is reported from Yorkshire. At Dalton, in the parish of Sessay, near Thirsk, there is, or used to be, a mill, and in front of it

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[1] Fr. Richter "Lithauische Märchen. Der einäugige Riese," *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, I. (1889), pp. 87–89. The writer says nothing as to the source of the tale.

[2] W. Grimm, *Die Sage von Polyphem*, p. 18, referring to H. Pröhle's *Kinder- und Volksmärchen*, p. 137.

there was a mound, which went by the name of "the Giant's Grave." In the mill was shown a long blade of iron, something like a scythe-blade, but not curved. This was said to have been the giant's razor, and there was also exhibited the stone porridge-pot or lather-dish which had been the property of the giant. This giant used to reside at the mill and to grind men's bones to make his bread. One day he captured a lad on Pilmoor, and instead of grinding him to flour as usual in the mill, he kept him as his servant and never let him go away. Jack served the giant many years without a holiday. At last he could bear it no longer. Topcliffe Fair was coming on, and the lad entreated that he might be allowed to go there to see the lasses and buy some spice. The giant surlily refused to give him leave, so Jack resolved to take it. The day was hot, and the giant was sleeping after dinner in the mill, with a great loaf of bone-bread beside him and a knife in his hand. Jack slipped the knife from the sleeper's grasp and jabbed it into his single eye. Up started the giant with a howl of agony and barred the door. Jack was again in difficulty, but he soon found a way out of it. The giant had a favourite dog which had also been sleeping when the giant was blinded. Jack killed the dog, skinned it, and throwing the hide over his back, ran on all-fours barking between the legs of the giant, and so escaped.[1]

(19) A Breton version of the story relates how a young man, returning with a well-filled purse from La Vendée, was traversing a forest, when he saw a hut, and going up to it knocked at the door. A rough voice answered, "Wait a moment and I will open to you." Then there was a loud noise, the door opened and he beheld a giant with a single eye in the middle of his forehead, holding in his hand the bolt of the door, and the bolt itself was as big as an ordinary man. On entering the house the young man saw human arms hanging, along with chitterlings, in the chimney, and feet of men and pieces of human flesh boiling in a pot on the fire. He made an excuse for retiring from the house, but he could not lift the bolt. "You need not go out," said the giant, "you may retire among the sheep there." Now in the inner part of the house there was a flock of eight sheep,

[1] S. Baring Gould, "The Giant of New Mills, Sessay," *Folk-lore*, I. (1890), p. 130.

every one of them as big as a colt. To hide his fear, the young man stepped up to the hearth and began to smoke his pipe. The giant asked him if he would eat some meat. "No," said the youth, "I am not hungry." "You shall eat all the same," answered the giant. But the young man drew a pistol from his pocket, and firing at the giant put out his eye. "Wretch," cried the giant, "I will kill and eat you." The youth took refuge among the sheep. The giant sought him, but could not find him. Then he opened the door and caused the sheep to go out one by one, feeling each of them as it passed. When only three or four were left, the youth got under the belly of one of them, holding fast to the fleece. In passing the door he knocked against the giant, who stopped the sheep; but by this time the young man was out, and making his way through the forest with the sheep he sold them for a good price in the market.[1]

(20) In another Breton version of the story the hero goes by the name of Bihanic, and is, as usually happens with heroes, the youngest of three brothers. He is sent by a king to rob a certain giant of his treasures, which consisted of a wonderful parrot, endowed with the gift of second sight, a dromedary which could run faster than a bird could fly, and a carbuncle which radiated so brilliant a light that the darkness of night was turned to day for seven leagues round the giant's castle. The hero succeeded in procuring the dromedary and the carbuncle without much trouble, but to capture the parrot was a much harder task. When Bihanic drew near the giant's castle for this purpose, he met a young shepherd who was feeding the giant's sheep. "Go to the castle," he said to the shepherd, "and fetch me a light for my pipe. I'll give you a crown." The unsuspecting swain pocketed the money and ran to the castle. Meantime Bihanic took one of the sheep, the woolliest of the flock, killed it and skinned it. Then he put on the skin, and mixing with the flock at eventide, he entered into the castle, all unknown both to the giant and to the shepherd. Now it was the giant's custom morning and evening to consult his oracular parrot, and that night, when he inquired of the oracle as usual, the parrot informed him that his enemy

[1] P. Sébillot, "Contes de la Haute-Bretagne," *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, IX. (1894), pp. 105 *sqq.*

Bihanic, who had already robbed him of his dromedary and his carbuncle, was again in the castle; more than that, the sagacious bird told him that the thief was lurking in the fold, disguised in the skin of a sheep which he had killed and skinned. The giant searched for him in the fold, but could not find him, though he felt the sheep with his hands, one after the other. Then he ordered the shepherd to let the sheep out, one by one, and as they passed out, the giant stood at the threshold and examined every one. When they were almost all out, the skin of one of them remained in his hands and he cried, "Aha, I've got him!" "Alas," thought Bihanic to himself, "it's all up with me this time," as he felt the grip of the giant's fingers on his ribs. The giant carried him to the kitchen. "Here's that rascal of a Bihanic," said he, showing him to the other giants and giantesses, "he'll not play us any more tricks. What sauce shall we eat him with?" "You must put him on the spit," they all answered. So they stripped him stark naked, trussed him like a fowl, and threw him into a corner of the kitchen till it was time to stick him on the spit. The cook, left alone, complained to Bihanic that she had not wood enough to roast him. "Just loose my bonds a bit, fair cook," said he, "and I'll go and fetch some." Flattered by being called "fair," the cook was mollified and undid the bonds. No sooner had she done so than the grateful Bihanic caught up a hatchet and brought it down on the head of the giantess with such hearty good will that he cleft her in two from top to toe. He then hurried to the parrot, stuffed it into his bag, and made off. When the giant came to the kitchen to see whether Bihanic was done to a turn, and saw his wife, the cook, dead and weltering in her gore, and the parrot gone, he howled and shrieked so that the other giants and giantesses came running, and between them all there was a terrible noise.[1]

(21) A Gascon version of the old heathen tale is enriched with some pious details for the edification of devout Christians. It runs thus: Once upon a time there lived a poor widow in a cottage with her two children, a boy and a girl. One day the boy said to his mother, "Mother, from morning to night

[1] F. M. Luzel, *Contes populaires de Basse-Bretagne* (Paris, 1887), II. 231 *sqq.*

I, you, and my sister work to earn a bare livelihood. I will go and seek my fortune. I will go to the land of the Ogres[1] to gather golden horns, horns of oxen, and horns of sheep." But his mother said, "No, no, my dear. I will not let you. The Ogres dwell far, far from here, towards the setting sun. They dwell in a wild black country, in a country of high mountains, where the streams fall from heights of three thousand feet. In that country there are no priests, nor churches, nor churchyards. The Ogres are giants seven fathoms tall. They have only one eye, right in the middle of the forehead. All the long day they watch their oxen and their sheep with golden horns, and at evening, at set of sun, they bring back these cattle to the caves. When they catch a Christian, they roast him alive on a gridiron and swallow him at one bite. No, no, my dear, you shall not go to seek your fortune. You shall not go seek golden horns, horns of oxen and sheep, in the land of the Ogres."

"Excuse me, mother," he said, "but this time you cannot have your way." Then the girl spoke. "Mother," she said, "you see my brother is wilful. Since he will not listen to reason, I will go with him. Count on me to guard him from all harm." So the poor mother had to give her consent. "Hold, my child," said she, "take this little silver cross, and never part with it, neither by day nor by night. It will bring you good luck. Go then, my poor children, go with the grace of God and the Holy Virgin Mary."

The brother and sister saluted their mother and set out, staff in hand, with their wallets on their backs. For seven months they walked, from morning to night, towards the setting sun, living on alms and sleeping in the stables of charitable folk. At last they came to a wild black country, a country of high mountains, where the streams fell from heights of three thousand feet. In that country there are no priests, nor churches, nor churchyards. In that country live the Ogres, giants seven fathoms tall. These giants have only one eye, right in the middle of their forehead. All the long day they watch their oxen and their sheep with golden horns, and at evening, at set of sun, they bring back these cattle to the caves. As for good cheer, there is no lack of

[1] *Lé ats.* In the Gascon dialect *Bécut* means "beaked" and by extension an ogre.

meat. For dinner they kill an ox, and for supper a sheep. But they take no account of their golden horns and throw them away. When they catch a Christian, they roast him alive on a gridiron and swallow him at one bite.

Every day, from sunrise to sunset, the brother and sister sought for the golden horns in the mountains, hiding themselves as well as they could under the bushes and among the rocks, lest they should be seen by the Ogres. At the end of seven days their wallets were full. Sitting down by a stream, they counted them, "One, two, three, four . . . ninety-eight, ninety-nine, a hundred golden horns. And now we are rich enough. To-morrow we will return to our mother.'

At that moment the sun was sinking. An Ogre passed, driving before him his oxen and his sheep with golden horns. "The Ogre! the Ogre!" cried the children and fled at the top of their speed. But the Ogre had seen it all. He took them, threw them into a big bag, and repaired to his cave, which was shut by a flat stone weighing a hundred hundredweights. With a push of his shoulder the Ogre shoved aside the stone and closed the entrance. That done, he shook out his big bag on the ground. "Little Christians," said he, "sup with me." "With pleasure, Ogre," said they. The Ogre threw a heap of logs on the hearth, lit a fire, bled a sheep, skinned it, threw the skin and the two golden horns in a corner, and spitted the flesh. "Little Christians," said he, "turn the spit." "Ogre, you shall be obeyed," said they. While they turned the spit, the Ogre laid a hundredweight of bread and seven great jars of wine on the table.

"Little Christians," said the Ogre, "sit down there. Want for nothing, and tell me all about your country.' The boy knew a great many fine stories, and he talked till supper was done. "Little Christian master," said the Ogre, "I am pleased with you. Now it's your turn, little Christian miss." The girl knew many beautiful prayers, in honour of the Good God, of the Holy Virgin, and of the saints. But at the first word the Ogre turned blue with rage. "Oh, you hussy," cries he, "you are praying to God. Just wait a bit." Straightway he seized the girl, stripped her of her clothes, laid her on a gridiron, and roasted her alive on a slow fire. "Little Christian master," says he to her brother, "what do you think of this steak? I'll give you your share of it presently." But the boy answered, "No, Ogre, Christians

do not eat one another." "Little Christian master, look, that is what I will do to you to-morrow, when you shall have told all your fine stories."

The boy was white with anger, but he could do nothing against the Ogre. He watched his sister broiling alive on a slow fire. The poor girl clasped in her right hand the little silver cross, which her mother had enjoined her never to part with, neither by night nor by day. "My God," cried she, "have pity on me! Holy Virgin, come to my help!" "Ah, hussy," said the Ogre, "so you pray God even when you are broiling alive, just wait a bit." The Ogre swallowed her alive in one mouthful. Then he lay down on the ground, the whole length of the hearth, "Little Christian master," said he, "tell me stories of your country." The boy talked till midnight. From time to time the Ogre interrupted him, saying, "Little Christian master, poke the fire. I am cold."

An hour after midnight the Ogre, glutted with meat and wine, was snoring like a hurricane. Then the boy thought to himself, "Now we shall see some fun." Softly, very softly, he drew near the hearth, seized a glowing brand, and thrust it with all his strength into the Ogre's eye. The Ogre was now blind. He ran about in the cave like one possessed by a devil, yelling so that he could be heard a hundred leagues off, "Oh, all ye gods! I am blind! I am blind!" The boy laughed, hidden under the litter, among the oxen and sheep with the golden horns.

At the cries of the Ogre his brothers awoke in their caves. "Ha! ha! ha!" they shouted, "what's the matter there? What's the matter there?" And the Ogres came running in the black night, with lanterns as big as barrels and with staves as tall as poplars. "Ha! ha! ha!" they shouted, "what's the matter there? What's all that there?" With a push of the shoulder they shoved aside the stone weighing a hundred hundredweights which stopped the mouth of the cave, from which the cries still proceeded, "Oh, all ye gods, I am blind! I am blind!" "Brother," said they, "who has put you in that state?" "Brothers," he answered, "it was a little Christian. Seek him everywhere in the cave. Seek him, that I may swallow him alive. Oh, ye gods, I am blind! I am blind!" The Ogres searched everywhere, but found nothing, while the boy laughed, hidden under the straw, among the oxen and sheep with horns of gold. At

last the Ogres were tired. "Good-bye, brother," they said, "try to sleep. We will come back to-morrow." So they shut up the cave and withdrew.

Then the boy tried to roll away the big stone that barred the entrance, but he had to cry, "Mother of God, this is too much for my strength." The Ogre listened. "I hear you, little Christian. I hear you, you cur. Blind as I am, you shall not escape me." For three days and nights the boy, the Ogre, and the cattle remained in the cave without eating or drinking. At last the oxen and the sheep with golden horns bellowed and bleated for hunger. "Wait a bit, poor beasts," said the Ogre, "I'll open the cave for you. But as for you, little Christian, that is quite a different matter. Blind as I am, you shall not escape me." While the Ogre groped about at the mouth of the cave, the boy put on the golden horns and the skin of the sheep that had been killed three days before.

At last the big stone fell. The Ogre seated himself outside, on the threshold of the cave, and the oxen and the sheep passed out, one by one, the oxen first. Their master felt their horns and their backs, and he counted them, one by one. Then came the sheep, and their master felt their horns and their woolly coats, and counted them, one by one. Among the sheep the boy waited on all fours. When his turn came, he advanced fearlessly. The Ogre was suspicious. On feeling the wool of his back he perceived that the fleece fitted ill. "Ah, little Christian," he called out, "ah, you cur! Just wait a bit!" But the boy made off as fleet as the wind.

The story ends by relating how the Ogre was sick and vomited up alive the girl whom he had swallowed, and how the brother and sister returned with great riches to their mother.[1]

(22) If the Homeric story of Ulysses and Polyphemus survives anywhere in oral tradition, it might be expected to survive in Sicily; and certainly a story of the same type has been recorded in that island from the lips of a girl eight years old. It is in substance as follows. There were once two monks who went begging for the church every year.

[1] J. F. Bladé, *Contes populaires de la Gascogne* (Paris, 1886), I. 32–42.

One was large and the other small. They lost their way once and came to a large cave, and in the cave was a monster who was building a fire. However, the two monks did not believe it was a monster, but said, "Let us go and rest there." They entered, and saw the monster killing a sheep and roasting it. He had already killed and cooked twenty.

"Eat!" said the monster to them. "We don't want to eat," they replied, "we are not hungry." "Eat, I tell you!" he repeated. After they had eaten the sheep, they lay down, and the monster closed the entrance to the cave with a great stone. Then he took a sharp iron, heated it in the fire, and having stuck it in the throat of the bigger monk he roasted his body and desired the other monk to help him to eat it. "I don't want to eat," answered the monk, "I am full." "Get up!" said the monster, "if you don't, I will kill you." The wretched monk arose in fright, seated himself at the table, and pretended to eat, but threw the flesh away.

In the night the good man took the iron, heated it, and plunged it in the monster's eyes. Then in his terror he slipped into the skin of a sheep. The monster groped his way to the mouth of the cave, removed the stone, and let the sheep out one by one; and so the good man escaped and returned to Trapani, and told his story to some fishermen. The monster went fishing, and, being blind, stumbled against a rock and broke his head.[1]

(23) A similar Greek story has been recorded at Pharasa in Cappadocia. It runs thus: "In the old time there was a priest. He went to get a goat. He went to a village. There was another priest. He said, 'Where are you going?' The priest said, 'I am going to get a goat.' He said, 'Let me come also, to get a goat.' They rose up; they went to another village. There was there another priest. And the three went to another village. They found another priest. They took that priest also. They went on. They made up seven priests.

"As they were going to a village, there was a woman;

[1] G. Pitrè, *Fiabe Novelle e Racconti popolari Siciliani*, II. (Palermo, 1875), No. 51, pp. 1–3; T. F. Crane, *Italian Popular Tales* (London, 1885) pp. 89 *sqq.* I have followed Crane's summary of the story, as the Sicilian dialect is only partially intelligible to me.

she was cutting wood. There was also a Cyclops.[1] The Cyclops ran up; he seized the seven priests. He carried them to his house. In the evening he roasted one priest; he ate him. He was fat. He ate him; he got drunk.

"The six priests rose up. They heated the spit. They drove it into the Cyclops' eye. They blinded the Cyclops. They ran away. Inside the stable the Cyclops had seven hundred sheep. They went into the stable. They flayed six sheep. They left their heads and their tails. They got into the skins. In the morning the Cyclops rose up; he drove out the sheep; he took them by the head and tail. He drove out the seven hundred sheep. He shut the doors. He went inside; he searched for the six priests. He could not find them. He found the six sheep killed.

"The six priests took the seven hundred sheep; they went to their houses. They also gave a hundred sheep to the wife of the priest, whom the Cyclops had eaten. The woman said, 'Where is my priest?' They said, 'He has remained to gain yet more.' And the six priests took a hundred sheep each. They went to their houses. They ate, they drank, they attained their desires."[2]

(24) Another modern Greek version of the Polyphemus story, recorded at Athens, runs as follows: A prince makes his way into an Ogre's cave in the Ogre's absence, and finds there a tub of milk and a cake almost as big as a threshing-floor. Having refreshed himself by drinking of the milk and eating of the cake, he looked about, and seeing a crevice in the rock hid himself in it. Soon the tinkling of sheep bells announced that the sheep were returning to the cave for the night, and the Ogre with them. On entering the cave the Ogre closed the entrance by rolling a great rock into the opening, and then he sat down to eat, noticing that his supply of milk and cake was short. However, after satisfying his appetite as well as he could, he raked up the fire and lay down to sleep. While he slept and snored the prince crept

[1] In Greek τεπεκόζης. This word is explained to be a Turkish expression for a one-eyed giant, derived from *tepe*, "head" and *göz*, "eye." See R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 650.

[2] R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1916), p. 551.

out from his place of concealment, and taking a long stake, sharpened it and held it in the fire. When the stake glowed in the fire, the Prince thrust it into the Ogre's eye and blinded him; for the Ogre had only one eye, which was in his forehead. The shrieks of the Ogre roused the whole neighbourhood, and the other Ogres came to see what was the matter with their chief; but finding the mouth of the cave barred by the great rock, they could not enter, and so went away again, supposing that the chief was drunk. Then the Ogre opened the cave by rolling away the stone, and sitting down at the entrance he began to let out his sheep, feeling them one by one. Now there was one big woolly ram, and clinging to its belly the prince contrived to escape from the cave, while the Ogre stroked the animal on the back.[1]

(25) Another modern Greek version of the ancient tale was told to the German archaeologist, Ludwig Ross, by a native of Psara, an island off the west coast of Chios. In outline it is as follows: Three brothers, by name Dimitri, Michael, and George, landed from a ship on an unknown coast, and separating from their comrades wandered about till they came to a magnificent palace. Entering it they found in the forecourt a great flock of sheep, and in the banqueting hall a feast set out, but no human being was to be seen. They sat down and partook of the good things, and hardly had they done so when a huge, ugly, blind Ogre appeared, and in a voice which curdled the blood in their veins cried out, "I smell human flesh, I smell human flesh!" Pale with terror, the three brothers sprang to their feet, but the Ogre, guided by the sound, stretched out his hideous claws and seized first Dimitri and then Michael, and dashed them to pieces on the floor. George, being nimble, contrived to escape into the forecourt, but there he found the gate shut and the walls so high that he could not scale them. What was he to do? Drawing his knife, he killed the biggest ram of the flock, stripped off its skin, and throwing the carcass into a well he wrapped himself up in the skin and attempted to creep out on all fours, as if he were a ram. Meantime the Ogre had finished his horrible meal of human flesh, and came waddling down the marble staircase, shouting, "You shall

[1] G. Drosinis, *Land und Leute in Nord-Euböa*, Deutsche Uebersetzung von Aug. Boltz (Leipsic, 1884), pp. 170–176.

not escape me! You shall serve me for a savoury supper!" Then he went to the gate and opened it just wide enough to let out one sheep at a time. He next called all the ewes by name, and as each came he milked it and let it out. Last of all came the rams, amongst which George, wrapt in the ram's skin, had taken his place. He approached the Ogre with fear and trembling, but the monster stroked his back, praised his size and strength, and let him go through the gateway. So George escaped.[1]

In this version the hero does not blind the monster, and thus one of the most characteristic incidents of the story is wanting; but in other respects the tale conforms to the common type.

(26) Another modern Greek version of the story, recorded at Lasta in Gortynia, a district of the Morea, relates how a man of old set out to wander through the world and came to a land where the men were of great stature, but had only one eye each. The traveller lodged in the house of one of these one-eyed giants, and at evening the giant's wife hid him; for during the day the giant, who was a wicked cannibal, was not at home. When the giant came home, he told his wife that he smelt something, and though she tried to persuade him that it was nothing, he searched the house and discovered the man. At first he made as if he would devour the man, but after putting him into his mouth, he took him out again and spared him for the sake of his wife. However, next day he repented of his mercifulness and would have gobbled the man up, if his wife had not made him drunk, and secretly fetching out the man urged him to fly. But before he fled, the man took a burning coal and thrust it into the giant's eye, thus blinding him. So the wicked cannibal was punished and never devoured men afterwards.[2] This version omits the characteristic episode of the hero's escape by the means of a sheep or a sheepskin.

(27) An Albanian version of the story, recorded in Sicily, runs as follows: Once on a time there were two men travelling. Night fell upon them by the way, and it rained and thundered. Poor fellows, just think what a plight they were

[1] Ludwig Ross, *Erinnerungen und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland* (Berlin, 1863), pp. 287–289.

[2] K. Dieterich, "Aus neugriechische Sagen," *Zeitschrift des Vereins fur Volkskunde*, XV. (1905), p. 381.

in! They saw a light far off and said, "Let's go and see if we can pass the night where that light is." And they went and came to the cave, for a cave it was where the light shone. They went in and saw that there were sheep and rams and two Cyclopes, who had two eyes in front and two behind. The Cyclopes saw them come in and said one to the other. "Go to, here we have got something to eat." And they proposed to eat the two men. The poor fellows stayed there two days; then the Cyclopes felt the back of their necks and said, "Good! We'll eat one of them tomorrow." Meantime they made them eat to fatten them. For in the evening they would take a sheep and a ram, roast them on spits over the fire, and compel the poor wretches to devour them, entrails and all, not to fatten them. And every now and then they would feel the back of their necks, and one would say to the other, "They're getting on very well!" But the two men said to each other by words or signs, "Let us see whether we can escape." Now, as I said, two days passed, and on the second day the Cyclopes fell asleep and slumbered with all their eyes open. Nevertheless, when the two men saw the Cyclopes sleeping, they took the spits on which the sheep had been roasted, and they heated them in the fire. Then they took rams' skins and clothed themselves in them, and going down on all fours they walked about in the rams' skins. Meanwhile the spits were heated, and each of the men took two, and going softly up to the sleeping Cyclopes, they jabbed the hot spits into their eyes. After that, they went down on all fours like sheep. The Cyclopes awoke blind, and gave themselves up for lost. But they took their stand at the door, each at a doorpost, just as they were, with all the spits sticking in their eyes. They let out all the sheep that were in the cave, saying, "The sheep will go out, and the men will stay in," and they felt the fleeces of the sheep to see whether the men were going out too. But the men had the sheepskins on their backs, and they went on all fours, and when the Cyclopes felt them, they thought they were sheep. So the men escaped with their life, and when they were some way off, they put off the skins. Either the Cyclopes died or they know themselves what they did. That is the end of the story.[1]

[1] D. Comparetti, *Novellino popolari Italiane* (Rome, Turin, and Florence, 1875), No. 70, pp. 308–310.

A peculiar feature of this version is the multiplication of the eyes of the Cyclopes from one to four apiece.

(28) A Hungarian story of this type tells of three travelling craftsmen, Balzer, Laurence, and John, who, after sailing the sea for seven days and seven nights, landed in a great wood. There they lighted on a sheep-walk and followed it till they came to a stall. They entered the stall and found there a huge giant who had only one eye in his forehead. He asked them what they wanted, and when they had told him, he set food before them. Evening soon fell, and then the giant drove the sheep into the stall. Now the sheep were as big as asses are with us. To shut the stall the giant had nothing but a big stone, which sixteen men like you and me could not have stirred from the spot.

When the sheep had all been let in, the giant sat down by the fire and chatted with his guests; at the same time he felt the neck of each of them to see which was the fattest. Poor Balzer was the man, as the giant perceived; so he took a knife, cut off his head, and gave him to his sheep to devour. The two surviving friends looked anxiously at each other and consulted secretly together; and when they saw that the giant was sleeping on his back by the fire, John took a firebrand and poked it into his eye, so that he could see no more.

When morning broke and the birds began to twitter, the giant took the stone from the doorway and let the sheep out: but he was so sly that he straddled his legs and let each sheep pass between them. Now John was by trade a shoemaker; so he had with him a paring-knife and an awl. He showed Laurence what to do and gave him an awl in his hand; he was to hang on to the tail of a sheep, and just when the sheep was in the doorway he was to jab the awl into its paunch; so would the animal run through the doorway like lightning. John did just the same himself, and both came safely through. When the sheep were all out, the giant shut the door and groped all about, but found nobody. Then he set up such a shriek that the two on the shore fell all their length to the ground. And at his roar twelve more giants, each as big as he, came at a run; and when they saw him in that sorry plight they seized him straight off and tore him to bits. Then they ran all twelve to the sea, but by this time the two fugitives were twelve fathoms from the shore, so that the

giants could not take vengeance on them. Then the giants began to shriek and roar so terribly that the sea rose in great waves, and the two wretches were almost drowned. But God in his mercy saved them, and they sailed on till they came to a wood, where they landed and walked for pleasure.[1]

(29) A modern Syrian version of the old tale runs as follows: Once upon a time there was a prince who had two sons. One of them set out with a book, which he owned, to go to a monastery. He journeyed till nightfall, when he tarried among the mountains and slept till about midnight. Then he heard someone crying. He thought, "I will go and see what it is." He went and found a cave in which a fire was blazing. Entering the cave, he saw a blind giant sleeping by the fire. The youth sat down and pricked the giant with a needle. The giant got up and searched for him, but could not find him. After a while the youth pricked the giant again. The giant arose. Little by little the day broke, and the goats began to pass out of the cave. The giant stood straddling at the mouth of the cave and let the goats pass out one by one. The young man crouched under the belly of the he-goat, and so got out. In the sequel the youth professes to be the giant's son, and after undergoing a peculiar test of sonship he is accepted as such by the giant and allowed to lead the goats to grass. He even recovers the giant's lost eyes from a she-bear, which had apparently abstracted them.[2]

This story differs from all the rest in that the hero, instead of blinding the giant, restores his lost sight. But in other respects, particularly in the mode of the hero's escape from the cave, the tale conforms to the ordinary type.

(30) In the "Third Voyage of Sindibad the Sailor," which is incorporated in *The Arabian Nights*, the voyager and his companions are landed on an island, where they find and enter a giant's house. Presently the giant, a huge black monster with two eyes blazing like fire, arrived, and finding his uninvited guests, he seized them and felt them as a butcher feels the sheep he is about to slaughter. The first whom he thus treated was Sindibad himself, but finding him lean

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[1] G. Stier, *Ungarische Volksmärchen* (Pesth, n.d., preface dated June 1857), No. 14, pp. 146–150.

[2] E. Prym and A. Socin, *Syrische Sagen und Mærchen* (Göttingen, 1881), No. 32, pp. 115 *sq.*

from the excessive fatigue which he had undergone on the voyage, he let him go. In this way the giant picked out the master of the ship, a fat, stout, broad-shouldered man, broke his neck, spitted him, and roasted him on the spit before the fire, after which he devoured him, tearing the flesh to pieces with his nails and gnawing the bones. Then he lay down and slept till morning. This proceeding he repeated on the two subsequent days; but on the third night, when three of their number had thus perished, Sindibad and his fellows took two spits, which they thrust into the fierce fire till they were red-hot like burning coals. These they grasped firmly and thrust with all their might into the giant's two eyes while he lay snoring. Thus rudely awakened from slumber, the giant started up and searched for his assailants right and left, but could not find them. So he groped his way to the door and went out, followed by Sindibad and his friends, who had prudently prepared rafts for their escape from the island. Presently the giant returned with a giantess, taller and uglier than himself; but by this time the fugitives were on board the rafts, and they now shoved off with all speed. The two giants pelted the runaways with rocks, which killed most of them; Sindibad and two others alone escaped on their raft to another island.[1]

(31) In "The Story of Seyf El-Mulook," which also forms part of *The Arabian Nights*, we have another slightly different version of the same story. A certain man Saed, brother of Seyf El-Mulook, relates how he was shipwrecked and drifted ashore on a plank with a party of memlooks (male white slaves). He and two of the memlooks walked till they came to a great wood. There they met a person of tall stature, with a long beard, long ears, and two eyes like cressets, who was tending many sheep. He greeted them in a friendly way and invited them to his cave. There they found a number of men whom the giant had blinded by giving them cups of milk to drink. Warned by them, Saed pretended to drink the milk offered him by the giant, and he made believe to be blinded by it; but really he poured the milk into a hole in the ground. His two companions drank the milk and became blind. Thereupon the giant arose, and having closed

[1] *The Arabian Nights' Entertainment*, translated by E. W. Lane, III. (London, 1839–1841), pp. 26–30.

the entrance of the cave, drew Saed towards him and felt his ribs, but found him lean with no flesh on him. Wherefore he felt another, and saw that he was fat, and he rejoiced thereat. He then slaughtered three sheep, skinned them, spitted them, and roasted them over a fire, after which he brought the roast mutton to Saed's two companions, who ate it with him. Next he brought a leathern bottle of wine, drank the wine, and lying down fell asleep and snored.

While he slept, Saed took two spits, heated them red-hot in the fire, and thrust them into the giant's two eyes. The blinded giant arose and pursued his enemy into the inner part of the cave; but, directed by the blind men, Saed found a polished sword, with which he hewed the giant through the middle, so that he died.[1]

It is to be observed that both the versions of the story in *The Arabian Nights* omit the characteristic episode of the hero's escape in a sheepskin or under the belly of a sheep.

(32) A story resembling the Homeric tale of Ulysses and Polyphemus is reported to be widely current in the mountains of Armenia. It is told orally as a popular tale in Erzerum, Kars, Bajburd, Erzinka, Keghi, and other towns; and Armenian emigrants carry it with them to their new homes in Alexandropol, Akhalzich, Achalkalak, Gumush-chane, and so forth. The tale is known as the "Story of the Eye in the Forehead." There are a number of different versions of it. One of the best, closely resembling the Homeric version, is said to be the one told at Gumush-chane, to the south of Trebizond. The version told at Achalzich runs as follows:

One day a rich man, looking out of his window, saw a porter approaching with a sack of meal on his back. When he came to the wall of the house, the porter put down his load to take breath, and began to bemoan his hard fate. "What an unlucky wretch am I!" he complained, "what a hell of a life I lead! When will God deliver me from my horrible lot!" and so on in the same strain. The rich man sent his servants to call in the porter, and when the fellow said that he could not leave his sack, the other had the sack despatched to its destination by one of his servants. It happened that the gentleman had invited friends to dinner that day, and by this

[1] *The Arabian Nights' Entertainment*, translated by E. W. Lane, III. 353-355.

time the guests had begun to assemble. But the best place at table was reserved for the porter. When they were all seated, the host stood up and said, "Listen, gentlemen, and you, my friend," turning to the porter, "listen you too, I have something to tell you. When I have finished my story you, gentlemen, and you, my friend" (meaning the porter) "shall judge whether the present lot of our friend here, of which he has just been complaining, is harder and more unendurable than the experience I have undergone in my life.

"I was a merchant and a handicraftsman. Once I sailed in a ship on business with twenty companions. A great storm overtook us, and our ship was cast on the rocks and broken in pieces, but we were carried ashore by the wind. So far as our vision extended, there was not a living being anywhere, neither man nor devil. For long we had nothing to eat or drink, and we wandered about till we came to a wood. In the wood we saw a building. We went in and waited. About the time when the sun went down, there appeared a frightfully big man, who had an eye in the middle of his forehead. When he saw us, he began to laugh, his face beamed with joy, and he made curious grimaces. He blinked with his eyes, kindled a great fire in the oven, and put an iron spit in it. Then he came up to us, felt every one of us, and choosing the strongest and fattest stuck him on the spit, held him over the fire for a little, and ate him. We were horrified, but could do nothing, and waited to see what would befall. Next evening he came again, stuck another of us on the spit, roasted him, and ate him. We saw that this could not last, and that something must be devised to save us.

"The giant with one eye in his forehead, who devoured our companions, laid him down every evening before the door and fell asleep, after he had partaken of his supper. In the morning he went away and walked about till evening. The third evening, when he had lain down and was sleeping quietly, whereas we could not sleep for fear, one of us by my advice got up, heated the spit in the fire, and thrust it, red-hot, into the giant's eye. The blinded giant shrieked dreadfully. We ran hastily to the sea, and embarking in a boat, rowed away at once from the shore. The giant's mates heard his shrieks and observed us. They hastened to him, and threw great stones at us from a distance, so that the whole sea rose in billows. At last our boat was hit by a stone and knocked

to bits. All my comrades were drowned, I alone was saved, for I tied myself to a board, and so came to shore." [1]

In this version there is no mention of sheep, and no explanation is given of the hero's escape from the abode of the giant.

(33) A version of the tale which presents the main features of the Homeric story has been recorded in Mingrelia, a district on the southern slope of the Caucasus and on the eastern shore of the Black Sea. It is as follows:

Once upon a time a traveller on the road from Redut-Kale to Anaklia (on the eastern shore of the Black Sea) was overtaken by night, a dark and rainy night. In the midst of the forest, far from every human habitation, a pack of wolves beset him, and some of them tried to tear him from his horse. But the horse stood stock still, and neither soft nor hard words could induce him to stir from the spot. What booted it that the wanderer had tied sticks to the tail of his horse to keep the wolves at bay? They attacked him in spite of the talisman. A cold shudder ran over the poor man, his sword hung powerless in his limp hand. All he could do was to cry aloud for help. And lo! a light appeared in the distance, the wolves vanished, and the horse galloped towards the light. It was a torch in the hand of a man who inhabited a lonely house hard by. The traveller warmed himself in the hut and told his host of his adventures. But his host had far worse experiences to relate. "Brother," quoth he, "you are unhappy because the insects in the wood have attacked you. But if you only knew what I have endured, you would deem yourself lucky that nothing worse has befallen you.

"You see we are all here in mourning. We were seven brothers, all fishermen. Often we would be months at sea with our ship, only sending a boat home once a week with our catch. One day when we had cast our lines we noticed that our ship was moving away from the shore; something was pulling it, and we could not stop it. Thus we were drawn on, and after some weeks we saw before us a rocky shore with a stream of honey flowing into the sea. Our ship drew in towards the honey stream, and when we were near it, a huge fish, with a mouth a fathom wide, bobbed up

[1] Senekerim Ter-Akobian, "Das armenische Märchen vom 'Stirnauge,'" *Globus*, XCIV. (1908), p. 205.

out of the water beside our ship. It swallowed the honey so greedily that the brook almost ran dry. Our hooks had caught in its gills, and it had been towing us along all the time. While it was busy gorging itself on the honey, we cut loose our lines, and let the fish go free. We loaded the ship with honey and wax, and the evening before we were to make sail for home, we saw a flock of sheep and goats approaching the honey stream. The shepherd was a one-eyed giant. In his hand he held a staff as thick as a pillar, and he twirled it like a spindle. A dreadful fear came over us. The giant drew our ship to the shore, and drove us with his flock to a great building, which stood in the middle of a wood. The trees were so high that we could not see the tops. The very rushes were as thick and tall as oaks are with us.

"The enormous edifice was built of huge, unhewn blocks of stone and divided into various rooms for the flocks; the goats, the sheep, the lambs, and the kids had their separate compartments. The one eyed giant shut us in and then drove his flock away. We tried to break open the door, but in vain. Like mice in a trap we ran about from morning to night. At evening the giant returned, shut up his beasts, and made a fire. He laid on whole trunks of trees. Then he took a spit, fetched a fat wether, and roasted it, without skinning it. Nay, he did not even kill it, but stuck it alive on the spit; the animal writhed in the fire till its eyes burst. Then he ate it up, lay down, and began to snore.

"Next morning he ate two more wethers, and in the evening he took the fattest of us, stuck him on the spit, and began to roast him. Our brother writhed horribly and shrieked for help, but what could we do? When our brother's eyes burst, the giant tore off one of his legs and threw it to us; but the rest of our brother he ate. We buried the leg. The next days it came to the turn of my other brothers; at last only I and our youngest brother were left. We were almost beside ourselves with fright and longed for death, but not such a terrible one.

"Well, when he had eaten our fifth brother and lay by the fire and snored, we slunk up to the spit which he had stuck at his side in the ground, and with much ado we pulled it out. Then we thrust it into the fire, and waited anxiously till it was red-hot; and we thrust the red-hot spit into his eye. Blinded, he bounced up with such force in his pain, that we

thought he would have broken through the roof, but he only hurt his head. With a frightful yell he ran through the whole house, trampling on sheep and goats; but he could not find us, for we dodged between his legs.

"In the morning the beasts began to bleat, being fain to go out to graze. The giant opened the door, stood in front of it, and let the sheep and goats pass out one by one between his legs, but he felt the back, head, and belly of each. So he did till noon. Then he grew tired, and contented himself with feeling the back of each beast. Luckily my brother had still a knife, and with it we skinned two sheep. Then we wrapped ourselves up in the skins and resolved to creep between his legs. Half dead with fear, I was the first to try my luck. The giant remarked nothing, and I was out. My brother followed. We sought our ship, which was still in the same place. Our hope of escape rose. Meantime the giant's flock came up. We picked out the best animals and took them with us on board. But scarcely had we cut the cable when the giant arrived and felt for the ship. When we were out of reach, we called to him our names, that he might know who had played him such a trick. In a rage he flung his club at us, with such violence that the sea foamed up, and our ship nearly went down. After long wanderings along the coast and many hardships, we at last came home."[1]

(34) A version of the tale which also resembles the Homeric story is told by the Ossetes of the Caucasus, a people who speak an Iranian tongue. Their version runs as follows: Urysmag rode with his companions a long, long way, till they could hardly stir a step for weariness and hunger. Then Urysmag suddenly remarked at the foot of a mountain a shepherd of gigantic stature with a flock of sheep. So he rode up to him, and dismounting from his horse, caught the best ram, which was as big as an ox. But he could not hold the ram; nay, the ram drew him bit by bit, till he fell into the hands of the one-eyed giant. "O Bodsol," said the giant, addressing the ram, "I thank you for procuring me a right good roast." So saying he thrust Urysmag into his shepherd's pouch. Being hungry, Urysmag at once

[1] A. Dirr, *Kaukasische Märchen* (Jena, 1920), No. 65, pp. 248–251. The Mingrelian language is akin to the Georgian (*id.*, p. 290).

addressed himself to the giant's provisions. "What are you up to there?" said the giant to him, "keep still, or I'll give you such a squeeze that I'll break every rib in your body." Meantime the sun went down, and the one-eyed giant drove his flock home to a cave and rolled a great rock before the entrance. The rock shut the mouth of the cave so tight that not a single ray of light could penetrate into the cavern. "Go, my son," said the giant to his offspring, "and bring me the roasting spit. I'll roast a tit-bit for you which the ram Bodsol has brought me home to-day." The son quickly brought the iron spit. The giant took the spit, stuck Urysmag on it, and set it on the fire; then he lay down to sleep. Now the spit had not pierced Urysmag, but only passed between his body and his clothes. So when the giant had lain down and began to snore, Urysmag disengaged himself from the spit, heated it red-hot, and thrust it into the giant's eye. The giant roared and raged, and threatened what he would do to his little enemy when he caught him. Meantime Urysmag killed the giant's son; and in his fury the giant bit his own fingers, but that did not mend matters. In the morning the sheep began to bleat; the day was breaking, and it was time to let them out to pasture. "Now you'll catch it! You shall not escape me," threatened the giant, and rolling the block of stone from the mouth of the cave, he sat down on it and caused every sheep to pass before him, one by one. Now in the giant's flock there was a big white ram with long horns, and it was the giant's favourite. Urysmag hastily killed this ram, drew off the skin with the horns, put the skin with the horns on himself, and thus disguised was the first to creep on all fours out of the cave. "You are Gurtshi," said the giant to the supposed ram as he felt him, "go, my clever beast, go and guard the flock till evening, and drive them home. Alas! I'm blind, but I'll punish him who has outwitted me." So saying he stroked the back of the supposed ram and let him go out. Thus Urysmag escaped, and he waited till the whole flock was out. Then he cried out, "And here I am after all, you blind donkey!" The giant died of vexation. But Urysmag drove away the sheep to his companions and killed some rams to make a feast for his friends.[1]

[1] Chr. H., "Ossetische Märchen und Sagen," *Globus*, XLI. (1882), pp. 333 *sq.*; A. Dirr, *Kaukasische Märchen*, pp. 252-

(35) A story of the same type is reported from Daghestan, a region situated on the north-eastern slope of the Caucasus. It is as follows: Two shipwrecked mariners meet a one-eyed giant, who is tending a flock of sheep. The giant seizes them and carries them to his abode, which is built of great blocks of stone in the forest. He sends one of the two to fetch water, and in his absence he roasts and devours the other, leaving nothing but a hand and foot, which he offers to the other shipwrecked mariner on his return. The mariner replies that he is not hungry. Then the giant shuts up his abode with an enormous rock and goes to sleep. The man puts out the giant's eye with a red-hot bar of iron. Next morning the man kills a ram, wraps himself up in the skin, and so makes his way out along with the flock. The giant becomes aware of the trick and utters a shout: other Cyclopes come in haste; but the man reaches the shore and makes good his escape on a piece of the wreck.[1]

(36) A story of the type we are considering occurs also in a Mongolian work, dating perhaps from the thirteenth or fourteenth century, which professes to narrate the history of the Oghuz, a widely spread branch of the great Turkish family, who include the Turcomans and the Uzbegs of Bokhara and are said still to constitute perhaps the majority of the population between the Indus and Constantinople.[2] The work in question includes eight narratives. It is in the eighth narrative, entitled "How Bissat killed Depé Ghoz," that the story occurs with which we are here concerned. It runs as follows.[3] An Oghuzian herdsman surprised and caught at a spring a

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254. There are a few unimportant variations, mostly verbal, between these two versions of the tale. In the former it is said that the outwitted giant "died of vexation"; in the latter it is said that he "almost died of vexation and rage." As to the Ossete language, see A. Dirr, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

[1] A. van Gennep, *Religions, Mœurs, et Légendes* (Paris, 1908), p. 162.

[2] As to the Oghuz, see A. H. Keane, *Man, Past and Present*, revised by A. H. Quiggin and A. C. Haddon (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 311 *sqq.*

[3] W. Grimm, *Die Sage von Polyphem*, pp. 7-12, referring to Diez, *Der neuentdeckte oghuzische cyklop verglichen mit dem homerischen*, 1815.

fairy of the Swan Maiden type, and had by her a semi-divine son named Depé Ghoz, who had the form of a man, except that he possessed only a single eye on the crown of his head. His birth was attended with prodigies, and as his fairy mother flew away she prophesied that he would be the bane of the Oghuz. The prediction was unhappily fulfilled. The monster began a long career of villainy by killing the nurse who gave him the breast, and he soon began to carry off and devour his own people, the Oghuz. It was in vain that they sent troops against him, for he was invulnerable; his fairy mother had put a ring on his finger, saying, "No arrow shall pierce thee, and no sword shall wound thy body." So no man could stand before him, and he put his foes to flight with great slaughter. Therefore they were forced to send envoys to negotiate a peace. Depé Ghoz at first, pitching his pretentions in a rather high key, stipulated for a daily ration of twelve men to be consumed by him; but the envoys pointing out to him with much force that at such a rate of consumption the population would soon be exhausted, the Ogre consented to accept the more reasonable ration of two men and five hundred sheep a day. On this basis he made shift to subsist until a distressed mother appealed to the heroic Bissat to save her second son, who was doomed to follow his elder brother into the maw of the monster. Touched by her story, and burning to avenge his own brother, who had been one of the giant's victims, the gallant Bissat declared his resolve to beard the Ogre in his den and to rid society of a public nuisance. It was in vain that the princes endeavoured to deter him from the dangerous enterprise. He listened to none of them, but stuck a handful of arrows in his belt, slung his bow over his shoulder, girt his sword on his thigh, and bidding farewell to his father and mother set out for the giant's home.

He came to the rock where Depé Ghoz devoured his human victims. The giant was sitting there with his back to the sun. Bissat drew an arrow from his belt and shot it at the giant's breast, but the shaft shivered at contact with his invulnerable body. A second arrow fared no better; the monster only observed, "A fly has bothered me." A third shaft likewise shivered, and a piece of it fell before the giant. He started up. "The Oghuz are waylaying me again," said he to his servants. Then he walked leisurely up to Bissat, gripped him by the throat, and carried him to his abode. There he stuck

him in his own ox-hide boot, saying to the servants, "I'll roast him on a spit for supper." So saying he went to sleep. But Bissat had a knife, and he slit the ox-hide and stepped out of the boot. He asked the servants how he could kill the giant. "We know not," said they, "there is no flesh on his body except in his eye." Bissat went up to the sleeper's head, and lifting his eyelid saw that the eye was indeed of flesh. He ordered the servants to heat the butcher's knife in the fire. When the knife was red-hot, Bissat thrust it into the giant's eye, destroying it entirely. Depé Ghoz bellowed so that mountains and rocks rang again. But Bissat sprang away and fell into the cave among the sheep.

The giant perceived that his foe was in the cave. So he took his stand in the doorway, setting a foot on each side of it and calling out, "Come, little rams, one after the other." As each came up, he laid his hand on its head. Meantime Bissat had killed a ram and skinned it, leaving the head and tail attached to the skin. Now he put on the skin and so arrayed drew near to the giant. But the giant knew him and said, "You knew how to rob me of my sight, but I will dash you against the wall." Bissat gave him the ram's head into his hand, and when the giant gripped one of the horns and lifted it up, the skin parted from it, and Bissat leaped out between the giant's legs. Depé Ghoz cast the horn on the ground and asked, "Are you freed?" Bissat answered, "My God has set me free." Then the giant handed him a ring and said, "Put it on your finger. Then neither arrow nor sword can harm you." Bissat put the ring on his finger. The giant attacked him and would have wounded him with a knife. Bissat leaped away and noticed that the ring again lay under the giant's feet. The giant again asked, "Are you freed?" and Bissat again replied, "My God has set me free." Finally, the hero contrived to slay the monster by cutting off his head with a sword, but this conclusion of the tale does not concern us here, having no parallel in the Homeric story.

In this Mongolian or Turkish version the giant's offer of a ring to his escaped prisoner recalls the incident of the ring in some of the other versions already noticed;[1] but here the ring does not talk and thereby betray its wearer's presence to his vengeful enemy.

[1] See above, p. 410, with the note.

Wilhelm Grimm interpreted the eye of Polyphemus as the sun, and found the origin of the story in the physical conflict of the elements and in the moral contrast of rude violence with crafty adroitness.[1] Such interpretations may safely be dismissed as erroneous. They illustrate the common tendency of learned men to attribute their own philosophic or mystical views to simple folk who are quite incapable, not only of conceiving, but even of comprehending them. To all appearance Polyphemus and his fellows are fairyland beings, neither more nor less, the creation of a story-teller who invented them for the sheer delight of giving the reins to his imagination and of exciting the wonder and admiration of his spellbound hearers, but who never dreamed of pointing a moral or of elucidating the dark, mysterious processes of external nature. Early man was not for ever pondering the enigmas of the universe; he, like ourselves, had doubtless often need to relax the strain and to vary the monotony of ordinary life by excursions into the realm of fancy.

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[1] W. Grimm, *Die Sage von Polyphem*, pp. 28 *sqq.*

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